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CONTENTS.

PAGE

SECTION I.—COMMERCE AND COLONISATION 1

1. Grievances of the Northern merchants against the London Merchant Adventurers, 1478 1
2. Act reserving English wool for English clothiers (4 Henry VII. c. 11), 1489 5
3. Prohibition of the import of English cloth into the Netherlands, 1494 6
4. Letters Patent of Henry VII. to John Cabot and his sons, 5 March, 1496 9
5. The "Intercursus Magnus" between England and the Netherlands, 1496 11
6. Act restricting fees to be charged by the Merchant Adventurers (12 Henry VII. c. 6), 1497 16
7. First arrival in England of spices brought by the Cape route, 1504 19
8. Reasons why England should take part in the new discoveries, addressed by Robert Thorne to Henry VIII., 1527 . . . 19
9. The difficulties of the Staplers, *c.* 1527 24
10. Charter to merchants trading to Andalusia, 1531 28
11. Complaints by the Hansards, 1540 31
12. Revocation of the privileges of the Hansards, 24 Feb., 1552 . 34
13. "A copie of the first privileges graunted by the Emperour of Russia to the English Merchants in the yeere 1555" . . 37
14. Will of a sailor shipping to Guinea, 12 Oct., 1557 . . . 42
15. Commercial questions in dispute between Spain and England, 1564 43
16. Memorandum by Cecil on the export trade in cloth and wool, 1564 (?) 45
17. Dangers of unregulated trade to Barbary and request for a monopoly, 1574 48
18. Reasons why the trade of Hull is depressed, 1575 (?) . . . 49
19. The Privy Council interested in the introduction of new dyes from Muscovy and Persia, 1579 50
20. "Certaine directions given by M. Richard Hackluit of the Middle Temple, to M. Morgan Hubblethorne, Dier, sent into Persia," 1579 51

157548

BROTHERS COLLEGE

PAGE

21. Injury done to the Merchant Adventurers' Company by members trading direct with Spain, 1579 53
22. Arguments for and against incorporating the Barbary merchants, 1582 (?) 58
23. Reasons of the Merchant Adventurers for leaving Antwerp, 1582 (?) 61
24. The Merchant Adventurers' answer to the criticisms of the Hanse League, 1582 (?) 63
25. Petition for relief of merchants excluded from trade by the Barbary Company, 1582 (?) 64
26. Petition from the Merchant Adventurers to the Privy Council to suppress interlopers, 1584 (?) 66
27. Petition from merchants trading to Venice, 1584 68
28. The first colonists in Virginia, 1585-87 70
29. Translation of a letter from a Spanish agent in England on English trade and shipping, 10 Nov., 1586 75
30. Commercial arguments for maintaining an English agent in Turkey, 1587-88 (?) 77
31. Contraband trade between England and Spain, 1593 . . 80
32. The beginnings of the East India Company, 1599-1601 . . 83
33. Complaint of the joint stock monopoly of the Muscovy Company, 1604 88

SECTION II.—SHIPPING 90
1. Henry VIII.'s charter to Trinity House, 1514 90
2. "An Acte for the mayntenaunce of the navye" (32 Henry VIII. c. 14), 1540 93
3. An order to apprehend English pirates who have plundered a Spanish vessel, 1547 96
4. Thomas Barnabe, merchant, to Cecil, on the increase of shipping and other matters, 1552 97
5. Arguments in favour of establishing Wednesday as an additional fish day, February, 1563 104
6. "An acte towching certayne politique constitutions made for the maintenance of the navye" (5 Elizabeth, c. 5), 1563 . . 110
7. First appointment of the Commissioners for the Repression of Piracy, 8 Nov., 1565 117
8. Certificate of the increase of fishing boats since the passing of 5 Elizabeth, c. 5, 10 March, 1576 122
9. Petition of a shipowner for employment in the Spanish trade, 1579 123
10. Notes by Burghley on trade, fishing, and shipping, 1581 (?) . 124
11. Piracy and letters of marque, 1593 127
12. Ship money levied on inland towns, 1596 128
13. Parliamentary interest in the upkeep of Dover haven, 1601 . 130

PAGE

SECTION III.—CREDIT AND MONEY LENDING 133

1. Fictitious contract made to conceal usury, *temp.* Edward IV. . 133
2. A wool stapler on his exchange transactions, 1479 . . . 134
3. "An acte agaynst usury and unlawfull bargaynes" (3 Henry VII. c. 6), 1487 135
4. A disreputable family, 1513 137
5. Vaughan's account of the crown's debts abroad and of the condition of the Antwerp money-market, 1546 . . . 138
6. "A Byll against Usurie" (5 and 6 Edward VI. c. 20), 1552 . 142
7. Gresham's instructions on being sent into Spain, 1554 . . 144
8. Gresham to Queen Elizabeth on the fall of the exchanges, 1558 146
9. Gresham to Cecil, suggesting that the Merchant Adventurers should be used to pay the Queen's foreign creditors, 1 March, 1559 150
10. Draft of a letter from the Queen to the Governor of the Merchant Adventurers at Antwerp on the payment of the royal debts, 28 Aug. 1560 153
11. Debate on the usury bill in the House of Commons, 1571 . 154
12. Usury not exceeding ten per cent. permitted (13 Elizabeth, c. 8), 1571 160
13. Presentments of a moneylender and a broker for offences against 13 Elizabeth, c. 8, 1572 163
14. Complaint of a false accusation of usury under 13 Elizabeth, c. 8, 1574 (?) 164
15. Proclamation prohibiting private exchange business and establishing a public Exchange Office, 1576 167
16. Protest by the Italian merchants of the City against State control of exchange business, 1576 169
17. Report of Commissioners for Usury, 1578 (?) 174
18. Intervention of the Privy Council in a case of usury, 1601 . 175

SECTION IV.—HIGH PRICES AND THE COINAGE 176

1. First debasement of the coinage by Henry VIII., 1526 . . 176
2. Act against the exportation of gold and silver (7 Edward VI. c. 6), 1553 177
3. John Heywood's epigrams on the base testons, *c.* 1547-49 . 179
4. Bishop Latimer on the base testons, 1549 180
5. William Lane to Cecil on the coinage and other matters, 18 Jan., 1551 182
6. Evil effects of the debasement of the coinage noted in contemporary chronicles, 1550 186
7. Sir John Mason to Cecil on high prices, 4 Dec., 1550 . . 188
8. High prices and depreciation in Norwich, 1551 189
9. Rise in the prices of cloth goods, 1551 191

PAGE

10. Memorandum on the reasons moving Queen Elizabeth to reform the coinage, 1559 193
11. Proclamation announcing a reform of the coinage by Queen Elizabeth, 27 Sept., 1560 195
12. The Earl of Huntingdon to Cecil on difficulties in Leicester about calling in the base money, 29 Nov., 1560 . . . 199
13. The Mayor of Bristol reports progress in the calling in of the base money, 30 Jan., 1561 201
14. Debasement of the Irish coinage by Elizabeth, 1600 . . 203

SECTION V.—TAXATION 204

1. A survey of the customs at the end of the fifteenth century, *c.* 1473-1502 204
2. The Amicable Loan, 1525 207
3. Extract from "An Acte conteynyng a graunte of Subsedy unto the kinges Highnes for a xv and xth" (26 Henry VIII. c. 19), 1534 209
4. A dispute over the collection of tenths and fifteenths, 1541 . 216
5. Proposal to abolish the royal right of purveyance, 1548 . . 219
6. John Hales on the unwisdom of a new imposition on cloth, 20 March, 1559 223
7. Richard Clough to Gresham on the frauds of the customs officials, 31 Dec., 1561 226
8. Benedick Spinola convicted of defrauding the customs, 27 Dec., 1561 229
9. Report to the Privy Council by James Paget, collector of the loan in Hampshire, April, 1570 229
10. Letter of Privy Seal to Roger Columbell requesting a loan, Jan., 1588; with receipt, April, 1588 231
11. Unequal assessments for a subsidy, 1589 233
12. A sidelight on the foregoing, 1601 234
13. Debate in the House of Commons on the subsidies, March, 1593 235
14. Part of a list by Sir Nathaniel Bacon, J.P., of persons in Norfolk certified unable to contribute to a loan, 1 March, 1591 . 244

SECTION VI.—PATENTS AND MONOPOLIES 246

1. Protest of the London brokers and notaries against the grant of a monopoly in the registration of insurance policies, 1574-75 . 246
2. Arguments in favour of granting a monopoly to an incorporated company to make paper, 1586 (?) 251
3. Patent for the manufacture of white salt, 20 Feb., 1586 . . 254
4. Protest of Boston against the salt monopoly, April, 1586 . . 257
5. Answer to a similar protest from Lynn, 17 May, 1587 . . 259
6. Grant of a patent to make iron with coal, 9 Oct., 1589 . . 262

PAGE

7. Collection by patentees of fines for breach of statutory obligation to grow hemp, 1592 267
8. The debate on monopolies in the House of Commons, 1601 . 269
9. Proclamation against monopolies, 28 Nov., 1601 . . . 292

SECTION VII.—VAGRANCY AND POOR RELIEF 296

1. Typical legacies for the relief of the poor, 1488-1570 . . . 296
2. "An Acte agaynst vacabounds and beggers" (11 Henry VII. c. 2), 1495 298
3. Town charities at Bristol, 1534-97 299
4. The Duke of Norfolk to Cromwell on vagabonds and monasteries, 1537 301
5. John Bayker to Henry VIII. on one cause of poverty, *c.* 1538 302
6. The first compulsory poor rate in London, 1547 . . . 305
7. The citizens of London to the Privy Council on their suit to the King for Bridewell, 1552 306
8. Bishop Ridley to Cecil on the same subject, 1552 . . . 312
9. A wounded soldier examined before the Mayor's Court at Norwich on his begging, 1561 312
10. Regulations for the relief of the poor at Norwich, 1570 . . 313
11. Certificate of beggars taken in the first watch at Southcley (Notts), 20 Aug., 1571 326
12. "An Acte for the Punishement of Vacabondes and for Releif of the Poore and Impotent" (14 Elizabeth, c. 5), 1572 . . 328
13. "An Acte for the setting of the Poore on Worke, and for the avoyding of Ydlenes" (18 Elizabeth, c. 3), 1576 . . . 331
14. Letter from the Mayor of Exeter on behalf of George and Ede Sampforde travelling in search of work, 1576 . . . 334
15. William Fleetwood, Recorder of London, to Burghley on the apprehension of masterless men near London, 14 Jan., 1582 335
16. Fleetwood to Burghley on a school for pickpockets in London, 7 July, 1585 337
17. Edward Hext, Justice of the Peace in Somerset, to Burghley on the increase of Rogues and Vagabonds, 25 Sept., 1596 . 339
18. "An Acte for the Reliefe of the Poore" (39 Elizabeth, c. 3), 1597 346
19. "An Acte for punyshment of Rogues, Vagabondes and Sturdy Beggars" (39 Elizabeth, c. 4), 1597 354
20. Orders by the Justices of the Peace for the relief of the poor in Essex, 3 April, 1598 362
21. Administration of the poor law by the West Riding Justices, 1598 365
22. A playhouse and the relief of the Finsbury poor, *c.* 1600 . . 368

SECTION I.—COMMERCE AND COLONISATION.

1. GRIEVANCES OF THE NORTHERN MERCHANTS AGAINST THE LONDON MERCHANT ADVENTURERS, 1478.

[The York Mercers and Merchant Adventurers, 1356-1917, ed. M. Sellers (Surtees Soc., Vol. CXXIX., 1918), pp. 75-79.]

These following been the articles of complaynt to be shewed to the Kynges goude grace by the mercers of the citie of York, Hull, Beverlay, Scareburgh and all other of the north parties.

In prime, it is to be remembered that it hath been accustomed and used by thauktoritee of letters patents graunted by the Kyng our soverain lords noble progenitours, and by his noble grace confermed, that it sall be leeful to all his trewe liege men of this realme of England and Irelond occupying and repayring the feit of merchaundise in the lands of Braband, Holland, Seeland, and Flanders, they to elect, within any of the same landes, governours of the same realm of England ij, iij, iiij, or more or less, of the moste able and discrete persons to governe and guyde the remanant for thencreassyng of the comonwelle of the realme, and for enhaunsyng and preferment of the same to the grete honor, worship, and profett accordynge to the forsaid graunts; that hath been owote of the terme of mynde laudable used, that governeres hath been fro tyme to tyme indifferently elect, the which governours full welle and indifferently hath occupied their said auctorites, by the which gretely it hath increased the said occupiers in their feit of marchandise; and so exalted the realme to grette honor and worshipp. And at all tymes it hath been accustomed and used oon governeur to be chosen for the citee of London and another governeur for the citee of York, Hull, Beverlay, Scarburgh and all other frome Trent northwards; and it is soe that now late John Pykryng,

mercer, of London hath dyvers tyme been elect as oon governeur in the said parties for the cite of London, and the same John soe elect hath nott souffered the foresaid graunts, of the Kyngs noble progentytors graunted, to be executed nor used as afforetyme they have been, but oonly takyng to his syngulie preferment such imposicions as of the said merchauntes then hath been leved, and under the same eleccon as oon governeur hath rewled withoute any mor gouverneures chosen ; whereas afore tyme hath been accustumed oon gouerneur to be elect for the north partes of England, and for the citie of York, Hull, Beverlay, Scareburgh, Whitby, and all other fro Trent northwards ; the said gouerneur, at such tymes as were requisit and lehewfull for the comonwelle of this Realme of the said northen men, sett and leved such imposicons as wer necessarye and be lewfull to be had, for the honor and comon well indifferently of every person accordyng to the substance and value of such goodes as at that tyme or seson they aventured equally rated, pounde pound lyke ; soo that noon of such aventurer were at no tyme over charged ; and the imposicyons indefferently fered [?] and soo leved and paid. And of the somes of monye, by the said governeures fro tyme to tyme by theym recevid, to yeld to all the hole fellshipp a trew accompt, when they wer ther too reqwyred. Also it hath been accustumed by the said governeurs, that at such tyme as any imposicons shuld be aleved for the honor of the nacion in these parties, the said imposicions to be reredy leved eqally pound pound lyke ; and the said John Pykryng hath latly perverted the said indifferent leve of imposicions, and hath sett the said imposicions opon everie particuler person of the said north coutree, so that, agayn right and goude conscience, som man not havyng in value of goouds to x *li.* paieth as much as other that hath c *li.* in value. Also, the said mercers and others reparyng unto the said parties at all tymes hath had their liberties to tak their places, houses to ferme, at thair libertie, and free elecaons, in such stretes as to theym weere thoght moste profitable, by the which the seid mercers and other solde the merchandyse to their profet and encrese, whereas now thai have latly [been] restryned, and putt from the said liberties, and assigned by the said John Pykryng to theym places inconvenyent and not profitable. By the which

they been gretely hurted and in grete damage in utterance and sellynge of their marchaundise, as evidently it may be proved, that where the northern aventures at such tyme, as long as they were at the liberties to chose their places for the utterance of such marchaundise, as they occupied, then they sold a pak of clothe of colours for xxx *li.*, xxvj *li.*, xxiiij *li.* the pakke, and a pak of whites for xx *li.*, xix *li.*, xviij *li.*, whereas now by the restrent made by John Pykryng, thai ar compelled to have the places for the utterance of the clothe in stretes joyning nyghe the marchandise of London, to thentent that the clothe of the north parties sall apere wers, and their clothe to apere the better. And soe for that cause the northren clothe is selled now a pak colours for xvj *li.*, the best, and whites for x to ix *li.*, viij *li.* the packe, to the utter undoyng and distruction of the north parties.

Also, whereas the seid mercers, and other of the north parties, dyvers tymes hath compleynd theyme to the said John Pykrynge, as gouvernour, of their grefes and desoired to have such liberties and frauncheses to be mynysterd unto theym, as att all tyme afore they have had and been accustumed, utterly the said John Pykrynge hath at all tymes refused to souffre theym any suche to have, bot constrenyd thame at all tymes to pay suche costes and charges as hym thoght goude to his synguler pleseur with grete rebeukfull and unfittynge langage. And the said John Pykryng hath caused the tellers, in the said contree of Braband, to take of the said northren merceres and others double toll, and some tyme caused the seid tellers to restreyn their goodes to such tyme as he was paid of such somes of monye as he demaunded of theym, by the which restreyn the forseid northren men hath left the viage, to their utter undoyng and confusion of many of theyme.

Also, it hath been accustummed and had afore the terme of mynde in the parties of Braband, Holand, Seeland and Flaunders that all men of the nacion of this realme of England there repayrynge, hauntyng, and occupying the feit of marchaundise to be admitted to the forseid franches and liberties then graunted as fellowes, there to occupie in their feyt of marchaundise, every thoon of theyme to pay for their admyttynge at their entre, iiij *d.*, flemyssh monye, and no more; whereas nowe of late

tyme the said John Pykryng hath made contrarie ordynaunces, that is to witt, of everie servaunt beynge aprentyse to a marchaunt of the said fellyship, if he be made there a fellow within the terme of his apprentisship, sall pay iiij *s.* for his entrens; and iffe soe be that he bee out of his apprenteshed, he sall pay xxiiij *s.*; and iff soe bee that any persons theare repayryng, hauntyng the seid feit of marchaundise, that never was apprentyse to the seid occupacion of marchaundise, sall pay l *s.* for his admission and entrens. The which excessyff and outrageous contrebucyons, soo taken by the said John Pykryng, hath caused and yett dayly causes many persons of this realme of England to forbere the occupaccon and encreaese of merchaundise, by the which the king, our soveragne lorde, dewties is gretely mynesshed as in his customes and subsidies; and also his liege people heurted as in the utterance of the commodities yerely renewyng within the said realme of England.

Also it hath been accustomed and used in the seid parties of Braband, Holand, Seeland, and Flanders that the governoures their chosen to occupie, ither of theym, shuld have for their costes and expenses for the tyme of their occupacione as gouernoures their attendynge, uppon the same resonable wages and alowaunce for the costes; the which costes and charges hath been leved and borne by the contries by whome their governours were elect and chosen, indifferently sett and rated uppon ordyinances goodes and that tyme occupyynge their pounde pounde lyke. And it [is] soe now, that the said John Pykrynge hath sithen he first occupied as governour there singular[l]y to hymself hath takyn all the forseid contribussyens leved and had generally of all the holle nacon of this realme of England, soo that at no tyme non other person, elect in the said parties as governour, hath had no thyng towardes their costes and expences; and bycause theroff no person able ne honourable will take uppon hym to occupie for the parties of this northe countries as governour or governours in the seid parties of Braband, Holland, Seeland and Flanders. Also, it is evidently knowen that the aventures made furth of the north contree is not lyke in value, ne substance of riches, as been the aventures made forthe of the southe countree into the seid landes of Braband,

Holland, Seeland, and Flaunders; yett right many aventures theer been as the parties of the north contree, and by the meane of the same aventure the kyng oure soverain lorde navie is supported and mayntened als longe as the aventures may be had, and iff no aventures be made the navie may nott endure of the northland; and iff the aventures be oppressed by outrageous, excessiff takyng of imposicyons in the seid parties of Braband, Holand, Seeland, and Flaunders, they may not langtyme endure and contenue in their feit of marchaundise, the which shuld cause a utter distruction of the kyngs navie, and also emproveriche all the partes of this north countree, soe comodities growyng and renewynge in the same, as uttered by the said adventures, as cloth, lede, lede [*sic*], and all other marchaundices. Wherefor it ples the kyng, our soveraine lord, of his most habundant grace graciously to consider the said premisses, and by his moste prudent councell that provision may be had theroff.

2. ACT RESERVING ENGLISH WOOL FOR ENGLISH CLOTHIERS (4 HENRY VII. C. 11), 1489.

[Stats. of the Realm, Vol. II., p. 535.]

For thencres and mayntenyng of Drapery and makyng of Cloth withyn this land, the Kyng oure Sovereigne Lord by thadvyse and assent of the Lordis spirituell and temporell and of the Comons in this present parliament assembled, and by auctorite of the same, hath ordeyned, establisshed and enacted that no maner of person, by him self or by eny othre, bye or bargeyn, from the first day of Marche that shalbe in the yere of our Lord MCCCCLXXXIX, any wollez then unshorn, or take promyse of bargeyn of any wolles then unshorne, of the growing of Berkshire, Oxenfordshire, Gloucestreshire, Herefordshire, Shropshire, Worcestirshire, Wilteshire, Somersetshire, Dorsetshire, Hampshire, Essex, Hertfordshire, Cambrigeshire, Northamptonshire, Suffolk, Kent, Surrey and Sussex, or any of theym, afore the fest of the Assumpcion of our Lady then next ensuyng; or bye or bargeyn any Wolles, or take promyse of bargeyn of any

Wolles, that shall growe in any of the same Shires, in any yere or yeres to comme aftir the seid fest of the Assumpcion of our Lady, any tyme before the same fest of Assumpcion of our Lady that shalbe next after the Shering of the same Wolle or Wolles, but onely such persones as of the seid Wolles shall make or doo to be made Yarne or Cloth within this realme; upon peyn of forfeiture of the double value of all the Wolles bought or to be bargeyned or taken by promyse of bargeyn incontrarie to this ordenaunce; Nor that any marchaunt Straunger, by himself or by any othre persone, in any yere to come bye any Wolles before the fest of the purificacion of our Lady next aftir the clipping or sheryng of the same, upon like peyn of forfeiture; the one half of all suche forfeitures to be had to the Kingis use, and the other half therof to thuse of him that woll sue the partie that shall so breke the seid Ordenaunce; And that any persone that woll sue in that partie have an accion of Dette of the said forfeiture, and suche proces in the same accion to be had as is in an accion of Dette at the comen lawe, or after the custome of the Citie, Towne or Burgh where it shall happe to be sued; And that no esson ne proteccion be allowed for the Defendaunt in that accion, nor that the seid Defendaunt theryn be admitted to wage his Lawe.

It is also ordeyned by the seid auctorite, that no maner of persone beyng sworn to be a wolle pakker, in any wise aftir the seid first day of Marche bye, bargeyn or gader any maner Wolle for any suche marchaunt Straunger within this realme, upon peyne of forfeiture of the same Wolle so bought, bargeyned or gadered to thuse of any suche marchaunt Straunger: this ordenaunce to endure from the seid first day of Marche unto the end and terme of x. yeres then next ensuyng.

3. PROHIBITION OF THE IMPORT OF ENGLISH CLOTH INTO THE NETHERLANDS, 1494.

[G. Schanz, Englische Handelspolitik gegen Ende des Mittelalters (1881), Vol. II., pp. 191-93.]

Maximiliaen, par la grace de Dieu roy des Romains, touiours auguste de Hongroie, de Dalmacie, de Croacie, etc., et Philippe,

par la mesme grace archiducz d'Austrice, duez de Bourgoingne, de Lothier, de Brabant, de Lembourg, de Lucembourg et de Ghelders, contes de Flandres, de Tyrol, d'Artois, de Bourgoingne, palatins de Haynnau, de Hollande, de Zeeland, de Namur et de Zuytphen, marquiz du saint empire, seigneurs de Frise, de Salinis et de Malins, a tous ceulx, qui ces presentes lettres verront, salut. De la part de noz bien amez les deputez des estas de noz pays de Brabant, Flandres, Haynnau, Hollande et Zeelande et aultres de pardeca nous a este expose, comme jasoit, que par les entrecours de marchandise faiz et accordez entre feuz nos predicesseurs, que Dieu absoille, et nous d'une part, et les roys d'Angleterre d'autre, ait entre autres choses este dit, taraictie et convenu, que tout les subgetes et marchans tant d'Angleterre que les notres pourroient hanter, frequenter et marchander l'un avec l'autre et es royaumes, pays, seignories et obeissance de chascun de nous et y porter, mener et faire porter et mener toutes leurs denrees et marchandises; et que ledit entrecours ait adez par nous et nosdictz subgetz este deuement entretenu et observe, ce non obstant treshault et trespuissant prince, nostre treschier frere et cousin, le roy d'Angleterre, en contrevenant audit entrecours a puis aucun temps fait deffendre a ses subgetz et a tous autres marchans residens audict royaume d'Angleterre wydier ou mener dudict royaume en noz pays et seignories aucunes denrees et marchandises et semblablement de non souffrir que noz subgetz y en menassent ou ramenassent dudict royaume; et a fait prendre et confisquier a son prouffit aucunes desdictes marchandises menees par nosdictz subgetz oudit royaume, et en oultre a nagaires ordonne une estaple de toutes manires de denrees et marchandisz en la ville de Calais et ordonne que tous ses subgetz et aultres marchans estraingiers amainent et facent ammener leurs marchandises, soient draps, bures, frommaiges grasses, fruys ou autres marchandises ou vivres quelzconques dudict royaume d'Angleterre en la dicte ville de Calais pour les y vendre, commuer ou changier a leur prouffit et voulente, en deffendant que nul de ses dictz subgetz ne autre marchant estrangier, estant ou aiant facteur ou compaignie audict royaume, ne maine face mener hors de ses dictz pays ne

semblablement hors de la dicte ville de Calais ne des marches d'icelles en aucune place de noz dicts pays, seignouries et obeissance quelque maniere de biens ou marchandises, ne que eulx ou aucun d'eulx n'achatent ou portent ne soit cause d'acheter ou porter de quelque lieu de nosdicts pays, seignories et obeissance audit royaume d'Angleterre ne audict lieu de Calais aucuns biens ou marchandises, qui soient par eulx ou leurs facteurs achatez ou dont ils soient pourveuz ou pacquez ou que cy apres seroient achetez ou pacquez, sans son especial congie expedie soubz son grand seel, sur paine de confiscation desdiz biens et marchandises, qui ainsi seroient menees en sondict royaume et obeissance, et d'estre prisonnier et pugnis a son arbitraige, le tout au grant prejudice et dommaige de nous et de nosdicts subgetz exposans, et plus pourra estre, se par nous pourveu n'y est, si comme ilz dient, dont ilz nous ont tres humblement supplie et requiz; savoir faisons, que nous, les choses dessus dictes considerees mesmement les dictes infractions dudict entrecours fait de la part de nostre dict frere et cousin, desirans pourveoir au bien prouffit et utilite du bien publicque de nosdicts pays et subgetz remectre sur le fait de la draperie en nosdicts pays et seignouries, qui a adez este et est l'un des principaulx entretenemens de noz subgetz d'iceulx, avons a grande et meure deliberation sur ce eue et en ensuiant ce que par devant a este fait par feu nostre treschier seigneur et ayeul, le duc Philippe de Bourgoigne, que Dieu absoille, ordonne et declare, ordonnons et declairons par la teneur de ces presentes, que de cy enavant a tousjours mais les draps et filez faiz ouvrez oudit royaume d'Angleterre soient et seront banniz de nos dicts pays de Lothr., de Brabant, de Lembourg, de Lucembourch, Gheldre, Flandres, Artois, Haynnau, Hollande, Zeelande, Namur, seignouries de Frise et de Malines et de noz terres d'outre Meuse et generalement de tous noz autres pays, terres et seignouries de pardeca, et est nostre plaisir, que aucun n'en y soient plus ammenez, venduz ne distribuez. Et se aucuns s'avancent d'en ammener, nous voulons et ordonnons comme dessus, qu'ilz soient brulez comme banniz desdicts pays, lesquelz nous mesmes en bannissons par cesdites presentes en deffendant par expres a tous marchans, maronnier[s], charretiers, et voictueriers noz

subgetz et autres, de quelque estat ou condition qu'ilz soient, gens d'eglise, nobles et autres, que doresenavant par eaue ne par terre ilz ne amainent, vendent, distribuent ou eschangent ou facent ammener, vendre, distribuer ou eschanger ne autrement employer aucuns d'iceulx draps et filez d'Angleterre en noz pays, terres et seignouries dessusdictes ne en aucunes d'icelles et ne les passent par iceulx noz pays pour autre part les transporter, que quiconques sera trouve faisant ou avoir fait le contraire et transgresse ceste nostre presente ordonnance et deffence, se sera sur les paines et amendent, qui s'ensuient, [etc.]

Donne en nostre ville de Malines le 8e jour d'avril l'an de grace 1494 apres pasques.

4. LETTERS PATENT OF HENRY VII. TO JOHN CABOT AND HIS SONS, 5 MARCH, 1496.

[Rymer, Foedera, Vol. XII., p. 595. Words in square brackets from Hakluyt's text, Hakluyt, The Principal Navigations of the English Nation (Hakluyt Soc., Extra Ser., Glasgow, 1903-5), Vol. VII., pp. 141-43.]

[Henricus Dei gratia] rex [Angliae et Franciae et Dominus Hiberniae] omnibus ad quos [praesentes literae nostrae pervenerint] salutem.

Notum sit et manifestum, quod dedimus et concessimus ac per praesentes damus et concedimus pro nobis et haeredibus nostris, dilectis nobis Johanni Cabotto civi Venetiarum ac Lodovico, Sebastiano et Sancto, filiis dicti Johannis, et eorum ac cujuslibet eorum haeredibus et deputatis, plenam ac liberam auctoritatem, facultatem et potestatem navigandi ad omnes partes, regiones et sinus maris orientalis, occidentalis, et septentrionalis, sub banneris, vexillis, et insigniis nostris, cum quinque navibus sive navigiis, cujuscumque portiturae et qualitatis existant, et cum tot et tantis nautis et hominibus, quot et quantos in dictis navibus secum ducere voluerint, suis et eorum propriis sumptibus et expensis, ad inveniendum, discooperiendum, et investigandum quascumque insulas, patrias, regiones sive provincias gentilium et infidelium [quorumcumque], in quacumque parte mundi positas, quae Christianis omnibus ante haec tempora fuerunt incognitae.

Concessimus etiam eisdem et eorum cuilibet, eorumque et cujuslibet eorum haeredibus et deputatis, ac licentiam dedimus ad affigendi praedictas banneras nostras et insignia in quacumque villa, oppido, castro, insula seu terra firma a se noviter inventis, et quod praenominati Johannes, et filii ejusdem, seu haeredes et eorum deputati, quascunque hujusmodi villas, castra, oppida, et insulas a se inventas, quae subjugari, occupari et possideri possint, subjugare, occupare et possidere valeant, tanquam vasalli nostri, et gubernatores, locatenentes, et deputati eorundem; dominium, titulum et jurisdictionem earundem villarum, castrorum, oppidorum, insularum, ac terrae firmae sic inventarum, nobis acquirendo, ita tamen, ut ex omnibus fructubus, proficuis, emolumentis, commodis, lucris, et obventionibus, ex hujusmodi navigatione provenientibus, praefati Johannes, et filii ac haeredes, et eorum deputati, teneantur et sint obligati nobis pro omni viagio suo, totiens quotiens ad portum nostrum Bristolliae applicuerint, ad quem omnino applicare teneantur et sint astricti, deductis omnibus sumptibus et impensis necessariis per eosdem factis, quintam partem totius capitalis lucri sui facti, sive in mercibus, sive in pecuniis persolvere; dantes nos et concedentes eisdem suisque haeredibus et deputatis, ut ab omni solutione custumarum omnium et singulorum bonorum ac mercium, quas secum reportarint ab illis locis sic noviter inventis, liberi sint et immunes.

Et insuper dedimus et concessimus eisdem ac suis haeredibus et deputatis, quod terrae omnes firmae, insulae, villae, oppida, castra, et loca quaecumque a se inventa, quotquot ab eis inveniri contigerit, non possint ab aliis quibusvis nostris subditis frequentari seu visitari, absque licentia praedictorum Johannis et ejus filiorum, suorumque deputatorum, sub poena amissionis tam navium sive navigiorum quam bonorum omnium quorumcumque ad ea loca sic inventa navigare praesumentium; volentes et strictissime mandantes omnibus et singulis nostris subditis, tam in terra quam in mare constitutis, ut praefato Johanni, et ejus filiis ac deputatis, bonam assistentiam faciant, et tam in armadis, navibus seu navigiis, quam in provisione commeatus et victualium pro sua pecunia emendorum, atque aliarum [omnium] rerum sibi providendarum pro dicta naviga-

tione sumendarum, suos omnes favores et auxilia impartiantur. [In cuius rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Teste meipso apud Westmonasterium quinto die martii anno regni nostri undecimo.]

5. THE "INTERCURSUS MAGNUS" BETWEEN ENGLAND AND THE NETHERLANDS, 1496.

[Rymer, Foedera, Vol. XII., pp. 578-88. Reprinted with emendations in A. F. Pollard, The Reign of Henry VII. from Contemporary Sources (1914), Vol. II., pp. 285-309.]

. . . Imprimis, conventum concordatum et conclusum est quod ab hac die sit bona, sincera, vera, integra, perfecta et firma amicitia, liga, confoederatio, pax et unio per terram, mare et aquas dulces, futuris temporibus perpetuo duraturae, inter dictos dominos regem et archiducem,[1] eorumque haeredes et successores, regna, patrias, dominia, terras, vassallos et subditos quoscunque praesentes et futuros, tam ecclesiasticos quam seculares, cujuscumque gradus seu conditionis existant, etiam si archiepiscopali ducali vel minori dignitate statu aut gradu praefulgeant; ita quod praedicti vassalli et subditi hincinde ubique locorum sibi invicem favere, seseque mutuis officiis prosequi, et honesta affectione pertractare teneantur, possintque tam per terram quam per mare et aquas dulces ad dicta regna, patrias, dominia et terras, civitates, oppida, villas munitas aut non munitas, firmatas aut non firmatas, portus et districtus quoscunque et eorum quodlibet hincinde tute, libere et secure accedere, intrare et in eisdem quamdiu voluerint commorari et conversari, ac ibidem victualia et alia eis necessaria quaecunque sine quacunque contradictione emere et vendere, necnon ab eisdem regnis, patriis, terris, civitatibus, oppidis, villis, portubus et districtibus, et eorumquolibet, totiens quotiens eis libuerit, ad partes proprias vel alienas quascumque, cum suis aut conductis aut accommodatis navigiis plaustris vel armaturis, mercimoniis, sercinolis, bonis et rebus quibuscumque, ire, recedere

[1] I.e., between Henry VII. and the Archduke Philip, Duke of Burgundy and Count of Flanders.

ac reverti, quemadmodum propriis in patriis, haec omnia eis facere liceret, et sicut proprii subditi locorum et patriarum illarum facere possint; ita quod nullo salvo conductu aut licentia generali vel speciali indigeant, nec in aliquo locorum praedictorum salvum conductum vel licentiam petere teneantur.

[Neither of the allies shall attack the other, or assist by deeds or by counsel the enemies of the other ally, who intend to attack him. They shall assist each other in such a case with all their power, but the ally who requests the other to help him shall bear the expenses.

Neither of the allies shall permit the rebels of the other ally to stay in his dominions or shall in any way help them, but shall expel them within fifteen days. . . .

Each of the allies shall include the other in all treaties, alliances or truces, which they may henceforth conclude with other states.

If the subjects of either do anything in contravention of the treaty, it shall nevertheless remain in force, and only the offenders shall be punished.]

Item conventum, concordatum et conclusum est quod omnes mercatores tam regni Angliae, dominii Hiberniae, villae et marchiarum Calisii quam etiam mercatores terrarum et patriarum Brabantiae, Flandriae, Hannoniae, Hollandiae, Zeelandiae, villae et terrae Mecliniae et aliarum patriarum et dominiorum domini archiducis praedicti, tam mercatores lanarum, coriorum, victualium quam aliarum merchandisanum quarumcumque, necnon eorum factores, familiares, negotiorum gestores et ministri, poterunt deinceps per terram pedestres aut equestres aut alio modo quocunque, armati vel non armati (dummodo armati simul incedentes quadragenarium numerum non excedant), cum suis bonis et mercandisia secure et libere ire et venire, invicemque communicare et mercare, emere et vendere ac commercium facere et habere, tam de mercandisis lanarum, coriorum, victualium, armorum, equorum, jocalium quam aliis quibuscunque, ipsaque ducere et reducere sive duci et reduci facere ad eorum libitum et voluntatem de Calesiis et marchiis ejusdem ac aliis quibuscumque partibus regni Angliae et dominii Hiberniae in Brabantiam [etc.] ac alia dominia praefati domini archiducis;

et e contra, de Brabantia [etc.] ac aliis dominiis praefati domini archiducis ad villam et marchias Calesii et alias quascumque partes regni Angliae et dominii Hiberniae absque alio impedimento aut prohibitione quacunque in contrarium et absque eo quod propter ea aliquam poenam sive mul[c]tam incurrant, seu quod per dominos patriarum, terrarum et dominiorum praedictorum hincinde aut eorum officiarios et justiciarios possint inde redargui, accusari, puniri vel mulctari, statutis et ordinationibus locorum in omnibus semper salvis.

[The merchants of both allies are to be free to come and go and to buy and sell in the dominions of the other ally, in towns and ports where there are customs officials established to supervise traffic. They may freely bring in their arms, provided that they deposit these in their hospices until they return to their ships. . . .

Fishermen of both allies shall be free to fish unmolested in the seas, and if driven into each other's ports shall be well treated and allowed to depart unmolested.]

Item conventum . . . est quod in nullis portubus aut littoribus partium praedictarum aut eorum alterius piratae aut alii, sine autoritate suorum principum guerram super mare facientes, sive nationis partium praedictarum aut alterius nationis cujuscunque fuerunt, aliquo modo receptabuntur, neque ipsis aut eorum alicui ibidem seu alibi in regnis [etc.] principum praedictorum in pecunia, armis, instrumentis bellicis, victualibus, aut alia re quacunque, aliquo pacto, auxilium praestabitur, nec favor, quovis quaesito colore, praebebitur sub poena refertionis et restitutionis omnium dampnorum, expensarum et interesse subditis praedictis aut eorum alicui per hujus modi piratas aut violentes depraedatores illatorum et fiendorum, tam per ipsos piratas si depraehendantur et solvendo sint, quam etiam per eorum receptatores, factores et auxiliantes: qui quidem piratae et auxiliatores ad haec praecise et summaria cognitione cogentur, tam in personis quam bonis, per locorum seu districtuum officiarium ubi talia contigerint; de quibus dampnis, expensis et interesse, si alias probare non poterunt, stabitur fidei et juramento dampnificatorum. Et si contingat hujus modi piratas, depraedatores, eorum factores et auxiliantes super hujus modi

piratica [etc.] convinci, quod tunc hujus modi piratae [etc.] dampna, expensas, interesse partibus sic damnificatis refarcient et restituent; et, si hujus modi refertionem et restitutionem infra quatuor dies proximo et immediate sequentes diem in quo de hujus modi piratica [etc.] convicti fuerunt, cum effectu facere recusaverint, tunc hujus modi piratae [etc.] ad restitutionem dupli dampnorum [etc.] sic dampnificatis faciendam per locorum et districtuum officiarios compellantur et cogantur.

[Provisions against the sale or reception of stolen goods and for their restitution and the punishment of offenders.

Securities for the preservation of the peace to be taken from the ships of each ally, on entering the ports of the other.

The ships of each ally shall succour each other with provisions in case of distress, and shall assist to procure each other's release if captured by a third party, at the expense of the side which asks for help.

The ships of each ally shall freely enter and leave the ports of the other, provided that they do not land their merchandise or transfer it to other ships without licence from the chief official of the district.

The merchants of each ally shall not carry or pass as their own the goods of merchants belonging to any country hostile to the other.

If a ship belonging to one ally be shipwrecked in the dominions of the other, the cargo shall not be confiscated, but shall be kept securely by the officials of the district in which the wreck shall have occurred, and shall be reclaimable within a year and a day, after payment of costs incurred in salving and keeping them.]

Item conventum . . . est quod mercatores, qui subditi fuerint alicujus principum praedictorum, poterunt tenere et habere in villis et oppidis alterius principis domos et habitationes pro ipsis et rebus suis in eisdem recipiendis, servandis et exponendis, ibidemque eisdem privilegiis libertatibus et francisiis utentur et guadebunt quibus ibidem usi et gavisi fuerint ante quinquaginta annos ultimo et immediate praecedentes, adeoque benigne et amicabiliter tractabuntur in eisdem sicut aliae nationes ipsas patrias et villas frequentantes.

Item conventum . . . est quod officiarii principum praedictorum et eorum utriusque, ad scrutandas mercandisas per terram mare vel aquas dulces vectas vel vehendas ordinati, in visitando mercandisas vel naves nil dampnificabunt de bonis seu mercibus subditorum unius vel alterius principum praedictorum, sed ea bene et honeste tractabunt et visitabunt absque violentia, frangendo pugonibus vel aliis instrumentis quibuscunque barellos, saccos, cistas, sarcinulas seu alias paccaturas quascunque, et temere contravenientes teneantur poena incarcerationis per unam mensam una [*blank*] partis laesae; qui vero ex nulla rationabili aut probabili causa hujus modi barellos [etc.] fregerit, aperuerit aut dissolverit ad hujusmodi barellos [etc.] refarciendum, reparandum et repacandum, suis super rebus et expensis teneantur [*sic*]; scrutatores autem hujus modi in exequendo sua officia in patriis partium praedictorum nullas exactiones super ipsos, quorum bona seu merces scrutantur, facient, nec eosdem cogent ad venditionem suarum aut alicujus partis pro aliquo pretio per ipsos scrutatores contra voluntatem venditorum statuto.

[Provision for the recovery of debts.

Provision against the concession of reprisals and letters of marque to the subjects of either of the allies against the subjects of the other ally. . . .

Transport of bullion from the dominions of the Archduke to England by English subjects to be permitted, under certificates to be issued by the officers of the town in which they bought or acquired the said bullion.

Merchants to make use of legal and proper weights and measures.]

Item, conventum . . . est quod ad sedandum et componendum lites, discordias et querelas inter mercatores stapulae Calesiae et subditos domini archiducis stapulam concernentes, in villa Calesiae decima secunde die Maii proximo futuro convenient deputati mercatorum utriusque partis; et, casu quo per ipsos hujusmodi lites, discordiae et querelae sedari et componi non possunt, fiet relatio principibus praedictis, qui aliter pro hujusmodi litibus, discordiis et querelis sedandis, prout ratio et aequitas dictaverit, providebunt. . . .

6. ACT RESTRICTING FEES TO BE CHARGED BY THE MERCHANT ADVENTURERS (12 HENRY VII. C. 6), 1497.

[Stats. of the Realm, Vol. II., p. 638.]

To the discrete Comens in this present Parliament assembled; shewith unto your discrete Wisedomes the Marchauntes Adventurers inhabite and dwelling in divers parties of this Realme of Englond oute of the Citie of London, that where they have their free passage, resorte, cours and recours with their goodis, wares and marchandises into divers costis and parties beyond the See, aswell into Spayne, Portyngale, Britaign, Irland, Normandye, Fraunce, Civile, Venyce, Danske, Estland, Friselond, and other divers and many places, regions and contres being in leage and amytie with the King our Sovereign Lord, there to bye and sell and make their exchaunges with their seid godes, wares and marchaundises accordyng to the lawe and custume used in every of the seid regions and places, And there every persone frely to use theym self to his moost avauntage, withoute exaccion, fyne, imposicion or contribucion to be had or taken of theym or of eny of theym to for or by any Englisshe persone or persones; And in semblable wise they before this tyme have hadde, used and of right owen to have and use theire free passage, resorte and recours into the costes of Flaunders, Holand, Seland, Braband and other places therto nygh adjoyning undir the obeisaunce of the Archeduke of Burgoyn, In whiche places the universall martes be comenly kepte and holden iiij tymes in the yere, to whiche martis all Englisshe men and divers other nacions in tyme passed have used to resorte, there to sell and uttre the commoditees of their Contreies and frely to bye ageyn suche thinges as semed theym moost necessarie and expedient for their profite and the weale of the Contrey and parties that they be comme from; till nowe of late that by the felishippe of the Mercers and othre marchauntes and adventurers, dwellyng and being free within the Citie of London, by confederacie made amonge theym self of their uncharitable and inordinate covetise for their singuler profite and lucre, contrarie to every Englisshemanes libertie and to the libertie of the seid Marte there, whiche is that every persone of what nacion

that he be of shuld have their free libertie there to bye, sell and make the commutacions with the wares, godes and marchaundises att theire pleasure, have, contrarie to all lawe, reason, charite, right and conscience, amonges theym self, to the prejudice of all Englisshmen, made an Ordinaunce and Constitucion, that is to sey, that noe Englishman resortyng to the seid Martes shall neither bye ne sell any godes, wares or marchaundises there, excepte he first componde and make fyne with the seid feliship marchauntes of London and their seid Confederatis att their pleasure, upon payn of forfeiture to the seid feliship Marchauntes of London and to their seid Confederatis of suche marchandises, godes or wares so by him bought or sold there; whiche fyne, imposicion and exaccion, at the begynnyng when it was first taken, was demaunded by colour of a fraternite of Seynt Thomas of Caunterbury, att whiche tyme the seid fyne was but the value of halfe a olde noble sterling, and soe by colour of suche feyned holynesse it hath be suffred to be taken for a fewe yeris passid, and aftirward it was encreaced to c *s.* Flemmysh; and nowe it is soe that the seid felishipp and Marchauntes of London take of every English man or yonge marchaunte beyng there att his first commyng xx *li.* sterling for a fyne, to suffre him to bye and sell his owen propre goodes, wares and marchaundises that he hath there: By occasion wherof all marchauntis, not beyng of the seid felishipp and confederacie, withdraw theym self from the seid Martis; whereby the wollen Clothe of this Realme, which is oon of the great commoditees of the same, by making wherof the Kingis true Subjettis be put in occupacion, and the pover pepull have moste universally their leving, and also other divers commodities of diverse and severall parties of this same Realme, is not sold ne uttered as it hath be in tyme passed, but for lacke of utteraunce of the same in diverse parties whare suche clothes be made, they be conveied to London, where they be sold ferre undir the price that they be worthe, and that they coste to the makers of the same, and at somme tyme they be lente to longe daies and the money therof att divers tymes never paied; And over that the commodities and marchaundises of that [*sic*] parties, whiche the seid felishipp marchauntis of London and othre their confederatis bryng into

this lande, is so solde to your seid complaynantes and othre the Kinges true subjettes, att so dere and high exceding price that the bier of the same can not lyve therupon; by reason wherof all the Cities, Townes and Burghs of this Realme in effecte be falle into great povertie, ruyne and decaye, and as nowe in maner they be withoute hope of comforte or relief, and the Kingis Custommes and Subsidies and the Navie of the land greatly decreased and mynysshed, and dailly they be like more and more to decaye, if due reformacion be not had in this behalf; Be it therfore enactid by the Kinge our Sovereign Lord by thadvyse and assent of the Lordis spirituall and temporall and of the Comens in this present parliament assembled and by auctorite of the same, that every Englisshman, beyng the Kingis true liegeman, from hensforth have free passage, resorte, cours and recourse into the seid coostis of Flaunders, Holand, Seland, Braband, and othre places therto nygh adjoynyng undir thobeisaunce of the seid Archeduke, to the Martes there hereaftir to be holden, with his or their marchaundises, goodes and wares, there to bye and sell and make their eschaunges frely at his or theire pleasure, withoute exaccion, fyne, imposicion, extorcion or contribucion to be hadde, levied, taken or perceyved of theym or of any of theym to for or by any Englissh persone or persones, to his or their owne use, or to the use of the seid fraternite or felishipp, or of any other like, excepte onely x marcs sterling; And that noo persone Englissh as is afore reherced hereaftir take, to his own use or to thuse of the seid fraternite or felishipp there, of any other Englissh persone of what estate, degre or condicion that he be of, soe alwey that he be the Kinge our Sovereign Lordis true liegeman, any fyne, exaccion, imposicion or contribucion for his libertie or fredome to bye and sell any goodes, wares or marchaundises in or at any of the seid Martes, more or above the somme of x marcs sterling oonly; upon payn of forfeiture to our seid Sovereign Lord for every tyme that he dothe the contrarie of this acte xx *li.* and also to forfeite to the partie greved in this behalf x tymes so moche as he contrarie to this present acte takith of hym; and that the seid parties so greved shall have in this behalf an accion of dette for the seid forfeiture of x tymes in any of the Kinges Courtes within this

Realme by wrytte, playnte, bill or informacion, and such processe to be made in the same as is or ought to be made in or upon an accion of dette att comen lawe, and the triall thereof to be had in suche Shire, Citie, Towne or place where the seid accion is commenced or sued, and that the defendaunt in any such accion be not admytted to wage his lawe, nor that noon esson or proteccion be for suche defendaunt admytted or allowed in that behalf.

7. FIRST ARRIVAL IN ENGLAND OF SPICES BROUGHT BY THE CAPE ROUTE, 1504.

[Cal. of State Papers, Venetian, Vol. I., No. 838, p. 300.]

[March 9, 1504] Silvan Capello, in a letter to his brother Antonio, dated London, 30th January, states that on the 17 letters were received from Hironimo di Cà da Pesaro, announcing the arrival at Falmouth of all three of the galleys. The five Portuguese barks had arrived there with 380 tons of spices imported from Colocut.

8. REASONS WHY ENGLAND SHOULD TAKE PART IN THE NEW DISCOVERIES, ADDRESSED BY ROBERT THORNE TO HENRY VIII., 1527.

[Hakluyt, Principal Navigations, Vol. II., pp. 159-63.]

A declaration of the Indies and lands discovered, and subdued unto the Emperour and the king of Portingal: And also of other partes of the Indies and rich countries to be discovered, which the worshipfull M. Robert Thorne merchant of London (who dwelt long in the citie of Sivil in Spaine) exhorted king Henrie the eight to take in hand.

Most excellent Prince,

Experience prooveth that naturally all princes bee desirous to extend and enlarge their dominions and kingdomes. Wherefore it is not to be marveiled, to see them every day procure the

same, not regarding any cost, perill and labour, that may thereby chance, but rather it is to be marvelled, if there be any prince content to live quiet with his owne dominions. For surely the people would thinke he laketh the noble courage and spirit of all other.

The world knoweth that the desires of Princes have bene so fervent to obtaine their purpose, that they have adventured and prooved things to mans conjecture impossible, the which they have made possible, and also things difficult have made facill: and thus to obtaine their purpose, have in maner turned up and downe the whole world so many times, that the people inhabiting in the farthest regions of the Occident have pursued with great distresse, labours and perils, to penetrate and enter into the farthest regions of the Orient: and in likewise those people of the said parts of the Orient have had no lesse labour and desire to enter and penetrate into the farthest land of the Occident, and so following their purchase have not ceased untill they could passe no farther by reason of the great seas.

This naturall inclination is cause, that scarsely it may be said there is any kingdome stable, nor king quiet, but that his owne imagination, or other princes his neighbours doe trouble him. God and nature hath provided to your Grace, and to your gracious progenitors, this Realme of England, and set it in so fruitfull a place and within such limites, that it should seeme to be a place quiet and aparted from all the foresayd desire. One speciall cause is, for that it is compassed with the Sea: by reason therof it seemes, this notwithstanding, their desires and noble courages have beene most commonly like unto others: and with marveilous great labours, costes and perils, they have traveiled and passed the Seas, making warre, not onely with Kings and dominions nigh neighbours, but also with them of farre countries, and so have woonne and conquered many rich and fayre dominions, and amplified this your Graces Realme with great victory and glory. And also now of late your Grace having like courage and desire, and not without just cause, to enlarge this your kingdome, and demaund your limits and tribute of the French king, which at that present he restrained, your Grace in person passed with a great power into France, putting

your Graces person to great paine and labour, and without doubt victoriously you had conquered the sayd Realme of France, as ye began, if your adversary had not reconciled himselfe, and knowledged your Graces right and title: and so promised truely to pay tribute then due, and fulfill your request in all things, and also desired your Grace for peace, the which of your clemencie you could not refuse.

Now I considering this your noble courage and desire, and also perceiving that your Grace may at your pleasure, to your greater glory, by a godly meane, with little cost, perill or labour to your Grace or any of your subjects, amplifie and inrich this your sayd Realme, I know it is my bounden duety to manifest this secret unto your Grace, which hitherto, as I suppose, hath beene hid: which is, that with a small number of ships there may bee discovered divers New lands and kingdomes, in the which without doubt your Grace shall winne perpetuall glory, and your subjectes infinite profite. To which places there is left one way to discover, which is into the North: for that of the foure partes of the worlde, it seemeth three parts are discovered by other Princes. For out of Spaine they have discovered all the Indies and Seas Occidentall, and out of Portingall all the Indies and Seas Orientall: so that by this part of the Orient and Occident, they have compassed the world. For the one of them departing towards the Orient, and the other towards the Occident, met againe in the course or way of the middest of the day, and so then was discovered a great part of the same Seas and coastes by the Spaniards. So that now rest to be discovered the sayd North parts, the which it seemeth to mee, is onely your charge and duety. Because the situation of this your Realme is therunto neerest and aptest of all other: and also for that you have already taken it in hand. And in my opinion it will not seeme well to leave so great and profitable an enterprise, seeing it may so easily and with so little cost, labour, and danger, be followed and obtayned: though heretofore your Grace hath made thereof a proofe, and found not the commodity thereby as you trusted, at this time it shall be no impediment. For there may be now provided remedies for things then lacked, and the inconveniences and lets remooved,

that then were causes that your Graces desire tooke no full effect, which is, the courses to be changed, and followed the foresaid new courses. And concerning the mariners, shippes and provision, an order may be devised and taken meete and convenient, much better than hitherto. By reason wherof, and by God's grace, no doubt your purpose shall take effect. Surely the cost herein will be nothing, in comparison to the great profit. The labour is much lesse, yea nothing at all, where so great honour and glory is hoped for: and considering well the courses, truely the danger and way is shorter to us, then to Spaine or Portingall, as by evident reasons appereth.

And now to declare something of the commodity and utilitie of this Navigation and discoverie: it is very cleere and certaine, that the Seas that commonly men say, without great danger, difficulty and perill, yea rather it is impossible to passe, that those same Seas be navigable and without anie such danger, but that shippes may passe and have in them perpetuall clerenesse of the day without any darkenesse of the night: which thing is a great commoditie for the navigants, to see at all times round about them, as well the safegards as dangers, and how great difference it is betweene the commoditie and perils of other which leese the most part of every foure and twentie houres the said light, and goe in darkenesse groping their way, I thinke there is none so ignorant but perceiveth this more plainly then it can be expressed. Yea what a vantage shal your Graces subjects have also by this light to discover the strange lands, countries, and coastes? For if they that be discovered, to saile by them in darkenesse is with great danger, much more then the coastes not discovered be daungerous to travell by night or in darkenesse. Yet these dangers or darkenesse hath not letted the Spanyards and Portingals and other to discover many unknowen Realmes to their great perill. Which considered (and that your Graces subjects may have the same light) it will seeme your Graces subjects to be without activity or courage, in leaving to doe this glorious and noble enterprise. For they being past this little way which they named so dangerous, (which may be two or three leagues before they come to the Pole, and as much more after they passe the Pole) it is cleere, that from

thence foorth the seas and landes are as temperate as in these partes, and that then it may be at the will and pleasure of the mariners, to choose whether they will sayle by the coastes that be colde, temperate or hote. For they being past the Pole, it is plaine they may decline to what part they list.

If they will goe toward the Orient, they shall injoy the regions of all the Tartarians that extend toward the midday, and from thence they may goe and proceede to the land of the Chinas, and from thence to the land of Cathaio Orientall, which is of all the maine land most Orientall that can be reckoned from our habitation. And if from thence they doe continue their navigation, following the coasts that returne towards the Occident, they shall fall in with Malaca, and so with all the Indies which we call Orientall, and following the way may returne hither by the Cape of Buona Speransa, and thus they shall compasse the whole worlde. And if they will take their course after they be past the Pole, toward the Occident, they shall goe in the backe side of the new found land, which of late was discovered by your Graces subjects, until they come to the backe side and South Seas of the Indies Occidentall. And so continuing their voyage they may returne thorow the streight of Magellan to this countrey, and so they compasse also the world by that way: and if they goe this third way, and after they be past the Pole goe right toward the Pole Antarctike, and then decline towards the lands and Islands situated between the Tropikes, and under the Equinoctiall, without doubt they shall finde there the richest landes and Islands of the world of golde, precious stones, balmes, spices, and other thinges that we here esteeme most: which come out of strange countries and may returne the same way.

By this it appeareth, your Grace hath not onely a great advantage of the riches, but also your subjects shall not travell halfe of the way that other doe, which goe round about as aforesayd.

9. THE DIFFICULTIES OF THE STAPLERS, *c.* 1527.

[G. Schanz, Englische Handelspolitik gegen Ende des Mittelalters (1881), Vol. II., pp. 565-69.]

To the lord legats Grace and unto the honourable lordes and councellors of our soveraigne lord the kinge.

Pittiously complayninge, shewinge unto your Grace your orators and duyly bedemen, the mayor, constables and felowship of merchants of the stapull at Caleis, whose auncestours and predecessours have had the trade, traffique and vent of the greate comoditie of this realme, that is to say wooll and woolfells, by the space of five hundreth yeares and above, aswell the tyme the stapull was kept at Brigges, Damme, Ardenborough, Middleborough with other places in the emperours domynion, as now of late yeares sith it hath bine removed unto the kinges towne of Caleis, and by all the said tyme the foresaid merchants have doune their dutyes to our soveraigne lord the kinges noble progenitors and have kept and mayntayned the prises of the said comoditie in utterance theirof to the straungers as much as in them hath lyen, and have bine in tymes past reputed and taken the most worshipfull company of merchantis subiectis to a king that any prince christned hath had, who now be fallen unto poore and lowe estate; and by no manner of misdemeanor or occation by them comitted or doune, but onely by such occacion as heereafter shall more plainly appeare in articles heereunto annexed.

In tender consideration theereof yt may please your Grace with all other lords of our said soveraigne lord the kinges most honorable councell to ponder and consider their said poore estate and the deepe daungers that they be now in, and to be meanes and mediators to the kinges Highnes for their succor and comfort, that such order and direction may be taken for them, that they may continue their livinges in the said stapull, as their fathers and auncestors have doune, beinge theirine borne and brought up and havinge no other meanes to may[n]tayne the livinges of themselves, their wyves and children.

First it may please your Grace to understand when and how

the said staplers entered into the firste acte of reteignour, and by what meane and occacion, soe it was, that in the convention and warre betweene kinge Henry the 6th and kinge Edward the 4[th], the retynue of Caleis beinge unpaide of their wages by the space of three yeares, in a great fury and rage for want of money fell upon the stapull and closed them in a house and would not suffer them to be at large unto such tyme as they had promised to content and pay them all their said wages beinge behinde unpaide, so that at length they did to their greate damage, hurt and dekay of many of the said stapulls for the tyme. In consideracion wherof it was thought expedient and necessary by the kinge and his honorable councell then beinge, that the said retynue should from that tyme forward be paied and answered by the handes of the stapullers upon the revenues from yeare to yeare of the customers growinge out of their said stapul merchandises, as they yearly due ship, whereas before that tyme the customers weere paide upon greate respites heere in England; and not many yeares before this fell, the said stapullers paide no more, but onely 6 *s.* 8 *d.* for the custome of every sacke of wooll, whereas now and ever sithence the have paide to the kinges progenitors and also to the kinges Grace for every sacke of wooll 40 *s.*, as well the sacke of course wool as the sacke of fine wooll, which is the greatest custome that his Grace or any prince christened taketh or hath of any merchantis, for it is the 4th pennie of the value of the goodes, that his Grace hath one with another, wheirby thier profittis and gaines are muche lesse now then they have bine in tymes past; which they nothinge grudge at, but holde them well content with, if the kinges Highnes will so provide that they may have like vent and utterance of their merchandises as they have had in tymes past.

Also it may please your Grace to consider and ponder not onely the greate stay and stop, that they have had for the space of 7 yeares last past in ventinge, sellinge and utteringe of theire said stapul-merchandises, but also the ill sales they have bine inforced to make of the same, never such like before hath bine seene, over and besides the importable losses they have had in vente and bringinge over their said moneyes, by the which 3 foresaid inconveniences their is not so little loste by the whole

body of the stapul in a generallytie amongst them all as a hundreth thowsand powndes, over and besides thapprestinge and disbursinge out of their purses and stockes 23,000 *li.* and above to furnish that they have shipped to short. Their is no fellowship of merchandes under any christian prince that could so longe have sustayned like burden and damage; but to their utter confusion and to the same point they be now come, unles the kings Grace extend and shew his pittie and mercie unto them now at this tyme; for they be brought from the number of 400 shippers unto the number of 140 or 160, the poore and middle sort be decayed andd declyned and the best and richest dayly decay and declyne after all; which decay and decline is arisen and fallen unto them not in their owne defaultis, but such inconvenientis and occacions as lay not in them to remove, helpe or remydye; not is it possible for them to contynue, except the same 3 inconvenientis and occacions be removed and taken away, which hereafter ensue.

The first is the contynuall debate, contention and warre, that hath bine in many yeares past, which hath stayed not onely the emperors subiectis and Frenchmen to come to Caleis to buy the said staple-merchandises, but also hath stayed the said staplers to adventure their goodes into their handes; for at such tyme cometh nor adventureth none but of the worst sort, unto which sort the said staplers have bine inforced by neede and necessitie to make sale to their greate losses and many of their undoinge, and the better sorte of the merchantis straungers knowinge the neede and necessitie of the stapull, and also knowinge aswell as the staplers the ponderous acte of reyteynor hanginge upon their heades, and that of necessitie they must sell their goodes for the(y) discharginnge of the said acte, withdraw themselves from the said stapull and would buy noe woolles nor woollfells except they mought have them at their owen price and better cheape then it stoode the staplers heere in England; and so undowbted they bought it to the undoinge of many of the staplers, not regardinge the price made and sett by the councell of both the realmes.

The second occacion and impediment is, that the Spanish woolls increase as well in fynes as in quantitie, and bine brought

into Flaunders in greate aboundance more in one yeare now then hath bine heeretofore in three; and for the amytie which is now betweene Spaine and the house of Burgon, the emperors subiectis in those partes practise themselves more and more in the drapery of the said Spanish woolles. And the rather they doe it because they have a better pennyworth theirof, then the staplers can afforde them of English woolles. Also by this occacion the staplers are not able to utter, sell and vent so much wooll and fell as they have doune in tymes past, which occacion hath not arisen or growen by the said stapulers; for they have soulde in 7 yeares last past to the emperors subiectis, that hath used to drape English woolles, farre under the price that they have bine accustomed to sell before tyme.

If this occacion and inconvenience be not removed, theise two daungers depende theirupon.

The first is the confusion of the stapul and the staplers.

The seconde is the decay of the comoditie of the realme; and over this, whereas Frenchmen have bine accustomed yearely, before the warres began, to fetch out of the stapul 2000 sackes of fyne wool, now they doe not fetch nor buy 400 sackes.

The third occacion and impediment is the greate morins of sheepe in this realme within fewe yeares more then hathe bine in tymes past; and specially in these three yeares precedent hath bine greate mortalitie and rott of sheepe and in every of them, and in this last most and worst of all, wheiras heeretofore the morin or rott of sheepe fell but once in 20^{tie} yeares; by reason of which mortalitie and death of sheepe wooll is brought to great scarceness and in the handes of rich graysiers, brogers and engrossers and by them enhaunsed and lifted to such prise that nether staplers nor clothier is able to gaine his livinge theirupon; and as standeth with reason and with the comen wealth, the clothier must first be served, so that by reason theirof the said staplers, if they weere now in like wealth and prosperitie as they have bine in tymes past, as they be not, their is not wooll sufficient, the clothier served, to be had to furnish them for the full performaunce of that they be bounden unto by the said acte of reteignour. The least of theise three occacions are able to confounde and bringe to povertye the said

staplers or any company of merchantis, be the never so substantiall.

Theise foresaid 3 occations were moved and purposed by the said stapulers and requird by them to be put in writinge into the said acte of reteignour, as stode with good equitie and reason; to whom it was answered, that they shoulde not thincke any suche unreasonable or hard dealinge in the kinges Grace or his most honorable councell towardes his merchantis and subiectis, but that if sutis chaunces did and upon such reasonable consideracions he would gratiously ponder and consider the same in such wise, as they shoulde not neede so much to mistrust his Grace to put it in ther wrytinge; upon which wordes of comfort, given to the said staplers by such of the kinges councell as weere at that tyme authorised to comyne and conclude with them, they entered into the said acte of reteignor levinge out of the said act the said 3 articles of consideracions, which now all three be fallen and happened unto them with more greves and hurtes besides theise to prolix and tedious to put into this wrytinge; for unlesse they may have helpe and remedy in the premisses, the redresse of any other inconveniences to them hapned and come should little availe them.

The premisses considered, it may please your good Grace with all other right honorable lords and councellors to our said soveraigne lord to bee intercessors and mediators to his Highnes for your said poore orators the merchantes of the stapul, and that his Grace will have pittie and compassion upon them, that stand nowe in the state of utter decaye and destruccion, onles his gratious favour and comforte be unto them shewed.

10. CHARTER TO MERCHANTS TRADING TO ANDALUSIA, 1531.

[Select Charters of Trading Companies, A.D. 1530-1707, ed. C. T. Carr (Selden Soc., 1913), pp. 1-3.]

Henry the Eight, etc., To all and singuler oure subiectes marchauntes and others exercycing and using the traffique and feate of Marchandise within the Realmes Domynions and Signories of Ispayne in the parties of Andeluzia, Greting:

Forasmoche as We be credably informed by the reporte of oure trusty seruant William Pepwell, and other our louyng subiectes that ye by oon assente and consente for youre better gouernaunce relieff and socours in thos parties and redressing of soche wronges and iniuries as hertofor hath ben and herafter myght be apponed and leyde unto youe by diuerse and sundry unlawfull exaccions imposicions and other newe custumes in thos parties, as also for the maynteyning of a Chapell newly edified at Saynt Lucars de Barowmeda to thonour of God and the Holy Martir Seynte George,

We, aduertysing in oure selfe youre porposes myndes and intentes in this behalfe to be right lawdable and requisite and the same very necessary to be contynued and maynteyned, which We do not only approue and ratifie but woll youe contynue and proceyid in youre saide goode myndes and purposes to the establishment and perfeccion therof,

Wherfor, as well for thonour that We bere towards all myghty Gode and the saide Blissed Martir Seynt George and mayntenance and supportacion of the premissis as at the humble pursute labour and requeste of our saide seruant and subiectes and for the tender loue zele and fauor whiche We bere to our saide subiectes of this oure Realme of Inglande Wales Irelonde and elleswhere under our dominion and abeysaunce and for the common wele proffite and aduancement of the same oure subiects, We haue geven and graunted to oure saide subiectes merchaunts and factours to marchauntes and to their successours forever,

That they once euery yere or oftener yf nede be from hensforth, wene they be in thos parties in a reasonable and compitente nomber within the cities of Cyuyle and Cales or within the town of Seynte Lucars de Barowmeda or Seynte Mary Porte, shall congregate and assemble theme selfes together to the place conuenyente ande necessary, and ther amongst theme selfes by thaduise and consente of oure subiectes merchauntes dwelling within our Citye of London and of ii merchauntes of oure towne of Bristowe and too of Southampton haunting thos parties for feate of merchaundises to ellecte and chose a Counsailour or Counsailours, whiche Counsailour or Counsailours and ther successours so by youe chosen shall haue for his or ther paynes

and labours for the exercicyng of the same rowmes such benefittes proffitts auctorities aduailes and aduantages as by youe shalbe thought necessary reasonable and conuenyent, and the same Counsailour or Counsailours and ther successours to amoue whene and as aften as ye shall thinke necessary and in his or there place or places to ellecte and chose other as ye shall se cause why from tyme to tyme:

And also We geue and graunte to the said Counsailour or Counsailours and Feliship aforsaide and to their successours auctoritie to ellecte amongst theme xii aunciente and experte persones merchauntes oure subiectes by ther discrecions to be Assistauntes to the said Counsailour or Counsailours and to ther successours, and as any of the saide xii persones shall die or departe thens to ellecte other able persones in their romes and places:

To the whiche Counsailour or Counsailours and Assistantes for the tyme being We geue full poure and auctoritie to gether leuye and receyue of oure said subiectes and of euery of theme their factours attornes repayring thether for feate of merchandise and of their shippes such imposicions as by the same Counsailour or Counsailours Assistents and Feliship shalbe thought necessarie requisite and behofull, and the same impositions to be leuyed aswell upon such goodes as shalbe conueyde oute of this oure Realme into thos parties as oute of thos parties into this oure Realme:

And such oure subiectes using ther the trade of merchaundise as is aforsaide refusing to paye the saide monie so by youe rated to compell them therunto by penaltye or otherwyse as by the discrecion of the saide Counsailour or Counsailours and Assistentes and of ther successours shalbe thought mete and conuenyent:

Furthermore we geue and graunte to the saide Counsailour or Counsailours and Assistents aforsaide and to ther successours for the politique rule and gouernaunce of the generalitie of the same full poure and auctoritie for to make statutes and ordenaunces for ther generall welthes and the same at ther pleasures to alter and chaunge or to reuocate frustrate and to make voide as the case shall require, And all penalties expressed and men-

cioned in the saide statutes and ordinaunces to leuy or cause to be leuyed and receyued of thoffenders and transgressours of the same to be imploide to thuses aforsaide, Prouyded all weye that yf therbe any fewer in the nomber presente of the makyng of any acte or ordinaunce then the saide Counsailour and Counsailours and viii persones Assistentes, orelles if the saide actes or ordinaunces or any of theme be agenste the publique welthe of oure saide subiectes, that then the same to be of non effecte or force, Provided also that no imposicions be made or leuied nother nowe nother hensforth but such as shalbe fyrste thought reasonable by viii or x merchaunts here in London of the chieff occupiers into Andeluzia aforsaide and by ther wryting affirmed:

Furthermore We straytely charge and commaunde all and euery oure subiectes merchauntes maisters maryners and others frequentyng and haunting the feate of merchandise and that herafter shall frequente and haunte thos parties that unto the saide Counsailour or Counsailours and Assistants and to ther successours they be alwayes ayding counsailing and helping from tyme to tyme as shall apparteyne:

In cuius etc.,

T. etc. apud Westm. primo die Septembr. per breue de priuato sigillo etc.

11. COMPLAINTS BY THE HANSARDS, 1540.

[S.P. Hen. VIII., Vol. CLXIV., No. 392(3).]

Albeit it hathe been graunted time oute of mynde to the merchauntes of Anse, and the same graunte confirmid and approvid sondrie times as well by the goodnes of the Kinges of Englande and of Fraunce as allso renewid and promysed of your moste excellent maiestie, that no manner of exactyon, pensyon or vndew payment shulde be sett vppon the persones goodes or wares of the saide merchauntes, whiche hathe been evin so obseruid of long tyme, yet all this notwithstanding, in the Favour of the Fullers and Sheremen of London, contrarie to your highnes moste gratiouse graunte, at the sute and requeste of the said Fullers and Sheremen it is ordeined and now so vsyd

that no merchaunte of Anse shall dare to lade or carie oute of the Realme of Englande any clothes rowhe and vnshoren vndre pain of losse of the same, moche to the preiudice and hinderaunce of the saide merchauntes, who have been accustomed of long time to carrie out Clothes Rowhe and vnshoren frelie and withoute all contradictyon.

Item, wheare it hathe been graunted of your maiesties predecessoures vnto our merchauntes (Custome oones paide) to carrie oute all manner their wares aswell brought into this Realme as bought within the same (wyn [*MS. torn*] excepte), yet neuertheles the saide merchauntes are so restrayned and letten that withoute speciall licence they may not carrie oute suche their wares as they cannot sell nor utter within your gratiouse Realme withoute to moche their losse, hinderaunce and dysprofite.

Item, whereas in the previeledge graunted by Edwarde the seconde it is providide that no man shulde be attached, arrestid, or any wise molested for thoffence of others whereof he is neither giltie partner, principall, nor suertie, yet, all respecte of this priviledge sett a parte, our merchauntes are accusid for thoffencis of others, and are compellid to Restitucion of suche dammage and losses as your graces Subiectes have susteyned within the Jurisdiction or territorye of any their prince wheresoever it happen.

Item, in the treate of Traffique it is prouided that the said merchauntes shall in no wise be grevid or boordenyd withe aboue iij *d.* of every pounde of wares, whether they bryng the same into Englande or bye it there to carie furthe; yet neuertheles they ar now compellid, contrarie to the saide treate, in your maiesties towne callid Kyngston vppon Hull of euery lode of Ledde to pay Fyve shillinges, In Lynne and Bristorne Fower, whereas according to the tennor of the privilege they shulde for xij *d.* passe free.

Item, whereas by vertue of Privieledgies noo price or estimation ought to be sett by your Maiesties officers vppon our merchauntes or their wares, yet oftentymes, as soone as Shipps arrive in any porte of your maiesties Realme from Dantisco and Hamburgo Frettyd with diuerse merchandises, as it happenithe,

your highnes officers doo entre into the saide shippes, and aftre serche made of euerything againste the will of the Maryners they take awaie woode of all sortes, and when your graces saide officers are spoken with to se payment made for the same, they defende them selfes alledging a new and unwonte price which impudentlie they call the Kinges price.

Item, whereas it hathe been lawful for our merchauntes throughe all your highnes Realme to laye there wares in what hostrye or Inne them lysteth, having the maistre of Thostices consent to the same, yet neuertheles the Mayor of your graces citie of London dothe sometyme interupte our merchauntes of this Fredome.

Item, albeit it is prouided expreslie in the previelegies that when merchauntes haue oones paide due custome in any place of your graces Realme, hauinge a warraunte and Discharge of the same, They oughte to be Free and quiett in all other placies; Yet neuertheles they ar compelled to pay new custome, which they call the Custome of the place, and that in your graces townes of Newecastell, Southampton and Yermouthe.

Ther is also another greefe which we do susteyn newelie Inventid of your maiesties subiectes; that is when merchaunte men haue bergayned as is accustomyd in that behaulfe withe a Pylote sauelie to delyuer their shipp at thaven or place appoynted, the Vice Admirall dothe oftentimes breake suche bergeynes with the Aldermen of the pilotes, alledging we cannot tell what customes to the contrarie, and that they must require Pilotes of the Aldermen; by reason whereof our merchauntes ar oftentymes hyndred of their viage oonles they woll admytt suche a pilote as shalbe appoynted vnto them, by meane whereof it commythe to passe that some shepps passe with extreme parrell and some vtterlie perrishe.

Allso, whereas the foresaide treatie of Traffique maketh merchaunte men free from the Jurisdiction [of] [*MS. torn*] Thadmyrall, that is to say that in cawsis and [*MS. torn*] to be moved, which ar the veray woordes of the priviledge, within the Realme of Englande againste merchauntes, or elles of them where the thing is doon of a bargen complete or pretendide, or elles of any offence doon or pretendide, their shalbe deputed by

the Kinges aucthority ij or iij Judges, as the qualite of the matter shall require, before whome withoute any figure or solemnytye of Judgement it ought to be harde and treatid with the more spede, and that in that case no merchaunte nor pilote shulde be bounde to submytte himselfe to Thadmyrall courte nor shulde be bound anywise in time to come, And that the Kinges prohibicions shalbe made oute to thadmyrall and his officers, and yet, nevertheles, our merchauntes ar often tymes conventyd contrarie to the said priviledge before the Lorde Admyrall and his offyciall, to our great charges And expenses: Therefore our humble supplicacion is that thadmyrall may be forbydden from hensforth to vsurpe uppon vs agaynst the Kynges maiesties pleasure in that behaulfe.

Fynallye, we Require that the wayors, whose naughtines witheoute excepcon is to be reiecte [?], according to our priviledge may waye with true Balaunces and waites, neither into the Favour of Englishemen nor into the preiudyce of vs waying otherwise then may seme to stande with reason, equitye and iustyce.

[*Endorsed*] Greefs of the Merchantes of the styllyard trading in England.

12. REVOCATION OF THE PRIVILEGES OF THE HANSARDS, 24 FEB., 1552.

[Acts of the Privy Council, Vol. III., pp. 487-89.]

In the mattier touching thinformacion exhibited against the Merchauntes of the Hanse, commonly called Merchauntes of the Styllyard, uppon good consideracion aswell of the said informacions as also of thaunswer of the saide Marchauntes of the Stylliard, and of such recordes, wrytinges, charters, treaties, depositions of witnesses and other evidences and proves as hath been exhibited on both partes, it was found apparante to the Kinges Majesties Pryvey Counsell as followeth:—

First, it is found that all liberties and priveleges pretended to be graunted to the said Marchauntes of the Hanse be voyde by the lawes of this realme, for somuch as the same Merchauntes of the Hanse have no sufficyent corporacion to take the same.

It appered also that such grauntes and pryveleges as the said Marchauntes of the Hanse do clayme to have do not extend to any persons or townes certain, and therfore uncertain what persons or which townes shuld enjoy the said privileges, by the reason of which uncertenty they have and doo admytt and appoynt to be free with them whom and as many as they liste, to the great prejudice and hurte of the Kinges Majesties custome and yerely hynderaunce of xx^{m} *li.* or nigh theraboutes, besydes the common hurte to the whole realme.

It appereth also that if the said pretensed grauntes were good by the lawes of this realme, as in dede they be not, yet the same were made uppon condicion that they shulde not avowe or colour any forreyn's goodes or marchaundises, which condicions the said Marchauntes of the Hanse have not observed, as may appere by office found remayning of recorde in the Kinges Majesties Exchequer, and by other sufficient proves of the same.

It appereth also that one hundreth yeres and more after the pretensed pryveleges graunted to them, the foresaid Marchauntes of the Hanse used to transport no marchandise out of this realme but only into their owne cuntres, neither to bring into this realme any wares or marchandises, but only suche as were commodities of their owne cuntreys; where at this present they do not only conveye the marchandises and commodities of this realme into the Base Cuntrees of Brabant, Flaundres and other places nighe adjoyning, and there sell the same, to the great domage and subversion of the laudable order of the Kinges Majesties subjectes trading those parties for marchandise and commodities, but also do bring into this realme the merchandise and commodities of all forrein cuntrees, contrary to the true meaning of the grauntes of their priveleges declared by the auncient usages of the same, by meanes wherof the Kinges Majestie hath not only loste muche in his customes, but also it is contrary to the condicion of a recognizaunce made in the tyme of King Henry the Seventhe.

It appered also that like as the pryveleges heretofore graunted to the said Merchauntes of the Stillyard, being at the begynning resonably used, were commodious and much proffitable to them,

without any notable excessyve or enorme prejudice to the royall estate of this realme, so nowe of late yeres, by taking suche and as many as they liste into their Societie, and by bringing in the commodities of all other cuntres, and carying out the commodities of this realme to all other places, their said pretensed priveleges are growen so prejudityall to the King and his crowne, as without great hurte therof and of the hole estate of the realme the same may not be longer endured.

Item; in the tyme of King Edwarde the Fourth the said Merchauntes of the Hanse forfeted their pretensed pryveleges by meanes of warre betwene this realme and them, wheruppon a Treaty was made and agreyd that the subjectes of this realme shuld have like liberties in the land of Pruse, and other places of the Hanse, as they had had and ought to have used there, and that no prises, new exaccions or other prestes shuld be sett uppon their persons or goodes, otherwise or by other meane then before x, xx, xxx, xl, l, yea, a hundred yeres agoo and above, had been or were sett, which hath been and is dayly much broken, and specially in Dansick, not only by prohibiting Englishmen frely to buy and sell there, but also in leving uppon them new exaccions and impositions contrary to the said Treaty. And notwithstanding that divers requestes hath been made, as well by the Kinges Majesties father as by his Majestie, for the present redresse of suche wronges as hath been doone to thenglishe marchauntes contrary to the said Treaty, yet no reformacion hath hitherto ensued.

In consideracion of which the premisses and such other mattier as hath appered in thexaminacion of this mattier, the Lordes of the Kinges Majesties Pryvey Counsell, on his Hieghnes behalf, decreyd that the pryvelege, liberties and frauncheses claymed by the foresaid Merchauntes of the Stillyard shall from hensforth be and remayne seased and resumed into the Kinges Majesties handes untill the said Merchauntes of the Stillyarde shall declare and prove better and more sufficient mattier for their clayme in the premisses; saving, nevertheles, and reserving to the said Marchauntes of the Styllyard all such and like liberties of cumming into this realme and other the Kinges dominions, bying, selling and all manner of trafique or trade

of marchandise in as large and ample maner as any other merchaunt straungers have or of right ought to have within the same, this Order aforesaid or any thing therin conteyned to the contrarye notwithstanding.

This Decre was made and gyven at Westminster, the xxiiijth of February, in the sixte yere of the reigne of our Sovereigne Lord, King Edward the Sixte.

13. 'A COPIE OF THE FIRST PRIVILEGES GRAUNTED BY THE EMPEROUR OF RUSSIA TO THE ENGLISH MARCHANTS IN THE YEERE 1555.'

[Hakluyt, Principal Navigations, Vol. II., pp. 297-303.]

John Vasilivich, by the grace of God Emperor of Russia, great duke of Novogrode, Moscovia, etc. To all people that shal see, reade, heare or understand these presents, greeting. Forasmuch as God hath planted al realmes and dominions in the whole world with sundry commodities, so as the one hath nede of the amity and commodities of the other, and by means therof traffike is used from one to another, and amity therby increased: and for that as amongst men nothing is more to be desired than amity, without the which no creature being of a naturall good disposition can live in quietnes, so that it is as troublesome to be utterly wanting, as it is perceived to be grievous to the body to lacke aire, fire, or any other necessaries most requisite for the conservation and maintenance thereof in health: considering also how needful merchandize is, which furnisheth men of all that which is convenient for their living and nouriture, for their clothing, trimming, the satisfying of their delights, and all other things convenient and profitable for them, and that merchandize bringeth the same commodities from divers quarters in so great abundance, as by meanes thereof nothing is lacking in any part, and that all things be in every place (where entercourse of merchandizes is received and imbraced) generally in such sort, as amity thereby is entered into, and planted to continue, and the injoyers thereof be as men living in a golden

world: Upon those respects and other weighty and good considerations, us hereunto moving, and chiefly upon the contemplation of the gratious letters directed from the right high, right excellent, and right mighty Queene Mary, by the grace of God Queene of England, France, etc. in the favour of her subjects, merchants, the governour, consuls, assistants, and communaltie of merchants adventurers for discovery of lands, etc.

Know ye therefore that we of our grace speciall, meere motion and certaine knowledge, have given and graunted, and by these presents for us, our heires and successours, do give and grant as much as in us is and lieth, unto Sebastian Cabota Governour, Sir George Barnes knight, etc. Consuls: Sir John Gresham, etc. Assistants, and to the communaltie of the aforenamed fellowship, and to their successours for ever, and to the successours of everie of them, these articles, graunts, immunities, franchises, liberties and privileges, and every of them hereafter following, expressed and declared. Videlicet.

1. First, we for us, our heires and successours, do by these presentes give and graunt free licence, facultie, authority and power unto the said Governour, Consuls, Assistants and communalty of the said fellowship, and to their successors for ever, that all and singular the marchants of the same company, their Agents, factours, doers of their businesse, atturneys, servants, and ministers, and every of them may at all times hereafter for ever more surely, freely and safely with their shippes, merchandizes, goods and things whatsoever saile, come and enter into all and singular our lands, countreis, dominions, cities, townes, villages, castles, portes, jurisdictions and destraicts by sea, land or fresh waters, and there tary, abide and sojourne, and buy, sell, barter and change all kind of merchandizes with al maner of marchants and people, of whatsoever nation, rite, condition, state or degrees they be, and with the same or other ships, wares, merchandizes, goods and things whatsoever they be, unto other empires, kingdomes, dukedomes, parts, and to any other place or places at their pleasure and liberty by sea, land or fresh waters may depart, and exercise all kinde of merchandizes in our empire and dominions, and every part thereof freely and quietly without any restraint, impeachment,

price, exaction, prest, straight custome, toll, imposition, or subsidie to be demanded, taxed or paid, or at any time hereafter to be demanded, taxed, set, levied, or inferred upon them or any of them, or upon their goods, ships, wares, merchandizes and things, of, for or upon any part or parcell thereof, or upon the goods, ships, wares, merchandizes, and things of any of them, so that they shall not need any other safe conduct or licence generall ne speciall of us, our heires or successours, neither shall be bound to aske any safe conduct or licence in any of the aforesaid places subject unto us.

2. Item, we give and graunt to the said marchants this power and liberty, that they, ne any of them, ne their goods, wares, merchandizes or things, ne any part thereof, shal be by any meanes within our dominions, landes, countreyes, castles, townes, villages, or other place or places of our jurisdiction, at any time, heereafter attached, staied, arrested ne disturbed for anie debt, duetie or other thing, for the which they be not principall debters or sureties, ne also, for any offence or trespasse committed, or that shall be committed, but onely for such as they or any of them shall actually commit, and the same offences (if any such happen) shall be by us onely heard and determined.

3. Item, we give and graunt, that the said Marchants, shal and may have free libertie, power, and authoritie to name, choose and assigne brokers, shippers, packers, weighers, measurers, wagoners, and all other meet and necessary laborers for to serve them in their feat of merchandizes, and minister and give unto them and every of them a corporall othe, to serve them well and truely in their offices, and finding them or any of them doing contrary to his or their othe, may punish and dismisse them, and from time to time choose, sweare and admit other in their place or places, without contradiction, let, vexation or disturbance, either of us, our heires or successors, or of any other our Justices, officers, ministers or subjects whatsoever.

4. Item, we give and graunt unto the saide Marchants and their successours, that such person as is, or shalbe commended unto us, our heirs or successours by the Governour, Consuls and assistants of the said fellowship resiant within the citie of London within the realme of England, to be their chiefe Factor

within this our empire and dominions, may and shal have ful power and authoritie to governe and rule all Englishmen that have had or shall have accesse or repaire in or to this said Empire and jurisdictions, or any part thereof, and shal and may minister unto them and every of them good justice in all their causes, plaints, quarrels and disorders betweene them moved, and assemble, deliberate, consult, conclude, define, determine and make such actes, and ordinances, as he so commended with his Assistants shall thinke good and meete for the good order, government and rule of the said Marchants, and all other Englishmen repairing to this our saide empire and dominions, or any parte thereof, and to set and levie upon all, and every Englishmen, offender or offenders, of such their acts and ordinances made, and to be made, penalties and mulcts by fine or imprisonment.

5. If it happen, that any of the said Marchants or other Englishman, as one or more doe rebell against such chiefe Factor or Factors or his or their deputies, and will not dispose him or themselves to obey them and every of them as shall appertaine, if the saide Rebels or disobedients doe come, and bee founde in our saide Empire and jurisdictions, or any part and place thereof, then wee promise and graunt, that all and every our officers, ministers and subjects shall effectually ayde and assist the saide chiefe Factour or Factours, and their deputies, and for their power shall really woorke, to bring such rebell or disobedient, rebels or disobedients, to due obedience: And to that intent shall lende unto the same Factour or Factours, and their deputies upon request therefore to be made, prisons and instruments for punishments from time to time.

6. Item, we promise unto the same Marchants, and their successours upon their request to exhibite and doe unto them good, exact and favourable justice, with expedition in all their causes, and that when they or any of them shall have accesse, or come to or before any of our Justices, for any their plaints mooved and to bee mooved betweene any our subjects or other stranger and them or any of them, that then they shalbe first and forthwith heard, as soon as the party which they shal find before our Justices shalbe depeached, which party being

heard forthwith, and as soone as maybe, the said English Marchants shall be ridde and dispatched: And if any action shall be moved by or against any of the said Marchants being absent out of our saide empire and dominions, then such Marchants may substitute an Atturney in all and singular his causes to be followed as need shall require, and as shall seeme to him expedient.

7. Item, we graunt and promise to the saide Marchants and to their successours, that if the same Marchants or any of them shall bee wounded, or (which God forbid) slaine in any part or place of our Empire or dominions, then good information thereof given, Wee and our Justices and other officers shall execute due correction and punishment without delay, according to the exigence of the case: so that it shall bee an example to all other not to commit the like. And if it shall chaunce the factors, servants, or ministers of the saide Marchants or any of them to trespasse or offende, whereby they or any of them shall incurre the danger of death or punishment, the goods, wares, merchandizes, and things of their Masters shall not therefoore bee forfaited, confiscated, spoiled ne seised by any meanes by us, our heires or successours, or by any our officers, ministers or subjects, but shall remaine to their use, franke, free, and discharged from all punishment and losse.

8. Item, we graunt that if any of the English nation be arrested for any debt, he shal not be laid in prison, so farre as he can put in sufficient suretie and pawne: neither shall any sergeant or officer leade them or any of them to prison, before he shall have knowen whether the chiefe Factor or factors or their deputies shalbe sureties, or bring in pawne for such arrested: then the officers shal release the partie, and shall set him or them at libertie.

9. Moreover, wee give, graunt and promise to the saide Marchants, that if any of their ships or other vessels shall bee spoyled, robbed, or damnified in sayling, anckoring or returning to or from our said Empires and Dominions, or any part thereof, by any Pirats, Marchants, or other person, whatsoever hee or they bee, that then and in such case, wee will doe all that in us is to cause restitution, reparation, and satisfaction to bee

duely made to the said English marchants by our letters and otherwise, as shall stand with our honour, and be consonant to equitie and justice.

10. Item, for us, our heires and successours, wee doe promise and graunt to performe, maintaine, corroborate, autenticate, and observe all and singular the aforesaide liberties, franchises, and priviledges, like as presently we firmely doe intend, and will corroborate, autentike and performe the same by all meane and way that we can, as much as may be to to the commoditie and profite of the said English Marchants, and their successours for ever.

And to the intent that all and singular the saide giftes, graunts and promises may be inviolably observed and performed, we the said John Vasilivich by the grace of God Emperor of Russia, great duke of Novogroode, Mosco, etc., for us, our heires and successors, by our Imperiall and lordly word in stead of an othe, have and doe promise by these presents inviolably to mainteyne and observe, and cause to be inviolably observed and mainteined all and singuler the aforesayde giftes, graunts and promises from time to time, and at all and every time and times heereafter. And for the more corroboration hereof have caused our Signet hereunto to be put: Dated in our Castle of Mosco the 20 day of [*blank*] in the yeere [*blank*].

14. WILL OF A SAILOR SHIPPING TO GUINEA, 12 OCT., 1557.

[North Country Wills, ed. J. W. Clay (Surtees Soc., Vol. CXXI., 1912), pp. 1-2.]

George Warde, maryner and bacheler, borne in the towne of Newton in the countie of Richmonde, nowe being shipped in the good shippe called the Teager, and in the said shippe I am appoynted to goo into the lande of Geney,[1] being a longe and

[1] This was 'the third and last voyage of M. William Towrson to the coast of Guinie . . . in the yeare 1557,' which will be found narrated in Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, Vol. VI., pp. 231-52. Four ships, the *Minion*, the *Christopher*, the *Tiger* and the *Unicorn* sailed from Plymouth on the 30th January, 1558. The old *Tiger* of London had often voyaged to Barbary,

dangerouse journey, having no certentie of my lif nor sure comyng home, and do consider my bounden dutie towardes my poore mother, Sibell Warde, and my foure bretherne, all dwelling in Great Creacall in the parishe of Beadall, the whiche of right and good conscience ought to have all that I have or shall have, if God take me oute of this worlde in the tyme of this my journey, do make this my will, myndynge never to alter this my will, nor to make any other untill I come save to London agayne. I give my chest, withall suche goodes as is properly myne in the shippe and all my waiges that remayneth unreceaved of me, with all suche shares as maye come by chaunce of warre after my death, unto my mother Sybell Warde, whome I make my executrix, to dispose of my goodes unto her self and to my bretherne, every one of theym part and part like by even portions. I make myn uncle Christofer Warde of London myn oversear and he to have xx *s.* for his labour, and myne attorney to withstande the law against all suche as kepe awaye any part within my will, and to paye hymself all suche chardges spent in the lawe.

15. COMMERCIAL QUESTIONS IN DISPUTE BETWEEN SPAIN AND ENGLAND, 1564.

[Cal. of State Papers . . . in the Archives of Simancas, Vol. I., No. 248, pp. 355-56.]

Summary of Instructions to you, Diego Guzman de Silva to aid you in your duties as Ambassador . . . to the Queen of England. . . .

In the first place, the present questions pending arise from certain grave injuries committed for a long time past by the

Guinea, and elsewhere ; on her way back from this voyage she sprang a leak, her cargo and crew had to be transferred to one of the other vessels, and she was turned adrift as a derelict off Cape Verde, just north of the equator. At that time her crew was suffering so badly from sickness that there were "onely six labouring men in her, whereof one was the Mastergunner." It is to be feared that George Warde was among the casualties, for his will was proved on the 6th February, 1559.

English against the Flemish subjects of His Majesty, in violation of the ancient treaties existing between the two countries. The first is the prohibition in England of certain Flemish manufactures, more fully set forth in the prohibition itself. Another is the great increase of customs, port dues and other charges on many kinds of goods sent from here to England. Another is the recent decree issued by the queen of England respecting navigation, giving preference to English ships taking English goods to Flanders, the effect of which is to give the English a monopoly of this trade and shut out the Flemings altogether.

Besides this, the constant harassing and vexation of Flemish subjects in England, and the seizure of their goods and wares, with the continual exaction of sureties from them that they will sell their goods within a certain brief time and will employ the money in English goods, so that they are not allowed to do their business in their own way.

Finally, also, the great robberies that, under the pretext of the late war between England and France, have been committed by Englishmen on the merchants, ships and goods of this country, which have been the cause of incalculable loss, besides giving rise to the ill-feeling of the people of this country against the English. . . . We were moved to send many . . . letters of complaint to the queen of England . . . begging her to remedy the evil. Nothing has been done, and no answer given to these letters, and as from day to day the complaints of people grow, we are now obliged to seek another remedy, since friendly remonstrance is of no avail.

We have therefore, after due and mature deliberation, drawn up two proclamations, one respecting the Flemish manufacturers and raw material for them, prohibiting their exportation to England, and the introduction of English goods into this country, in retaliation for the decree of the queen of England to a similar effect mentioned above. The other proclamation respecting navigation provides that no English mariners shall ship any goods in this country for England, and is in retaliation for a similar decree of the Queen prohibiting Flemish ships from loading there.

16. MEMORANDUM BY CECIL ON THE EXPORT TRADE IN CLOTH AND WOOL, 1564 (?).

[S.P.D. Eliz., Vol. XXXV., No. 33. In Cecil's hand.]

Reasons to move a forbearyng of the restitution of the entercourse to Antwerpe.

It is to be confessed of all m[en] that it were better for this realme for manny considerations, that the commodities of the same wer issued owt rather to sondry places, than to one, and specially to such one as the lord therof is of so great power, as he may therwith annoye this realme by waye of [*MS. blotted*].

Secondly, it is probable that by the carryeng over into Antwerpe of such a quantity of commoditees owt of the realme, as of late yeres is used, the shortnes of the retorn multeplyeth manny marchantes, and so consequently also this realme is overburdened with unnecessary forrayn wares, and if the trade therof shuld contynew but a whyle, a great part of the treasor of the monny of the realme wold be carryed thyther to answer for such unnecessary trifflees, consideryng it is to be seene that very lately the commoditees carryed out of the realm beyond the seas hath scantly answered the vallor of the merchandise brought in. And if the lawes for apparrell and taverns for excessyve abundance of wynes shall not be better observed, it is to be feared that the quantite of our english commoditees will be to small a great deale to answer the forrayn commoditees.

Thirdly, it is to be thought that the deminution of clothyng in this realme wer proffitable to the same for manny causees; first, for that therby the tilladg of the realm is notoriosly decayed, which is yerly manifest in that, contrary to former tymes, the realme is dryven to be furnished with forrayn corne, and specially the Citee of London. Secondly, for that the people that depend uppon makyng of cloth ar of worss condition to be quyetly governed than the husband men. Thyrdly, by convertyng of so manny people to clothyng, the realme lacketh not only artificers, which wer wont to inhabitt all corporat townes, but also laborers for all comen workes.

Wheruppon it followeth probably that it wer proffitable for

the realme to have some alteration of the great trade of carrying of clothes out of the realme to Antwerp.

A second question.

But now the Question may be whyther the tyme as it is be mete to attempt such an alteration or no; wherin ar to be considered these thynges following:

1. The unhabilite of the merchantes adventurors at Embden to endure any longer from bryngyng ther clothes to Antwerp to be ther dressed and dyed, without which help there qualitie of clothes is not vendable.

2. The staye of clothyng within the realme, what inconvenience it may bryng.

3. The forbearyng of the revennew which ought to grow to the Queens Maiesty of hir customs, both uppon clothes and uppon forrayn commoditees to be brought inward.

Answer.

Consyderyng the matter of it self wer to be wished to have the trade to Antwerp deminished, and that all redye a great part of the greeff is passed that tooched both the Queens Maiesty for hir customs, and the merchantes for there trade, it wer better to procede, and to devise how these incommoditees both to the Queens Maiesty, the realme, and the merchantes might be eased, as the casees may beare, than to make a reverss, without any fruict to be had or gathered of these troobles now passed.

And in this behalf is to be considered:

First, for the Queens Maiestys customs, although the trade of drapyng and carryeng out of clothe shuld decaye, yet therby the quantite of woll to be sent out of the realme shuld evidently incress, and though it shuld come but to the half of that quantite that was wont to be carryed by the staplors, yet, as the custom therof is at this daye, the revennew to hir Maiesty will farr excede the custom that is of the clothe, or that hath bene sence the increass of the customs. And where exception is taken by the subiectes of the twoo kynges of france and spayne, that the customs of cloth ar increased contrary to the treaty, by convertyng the trade of cloth into woll, they could not have any cause to fynd fault with the increass of the custom of wolls,

for that the same is a trade of ancient tyme appertayning to the staplors of England, establyshed before the tymes of the treatyes.

Secondly, for the merchantes adventurors, consideryng they have alreddy borne so much as they have, and that therby it will fall out that the unhable and unsufficient merchantes not mete to be favored shall break of and discontynew, it is no evill pollycy to suspend ther trade from the low contrye, wherby the trade may rest in the handes both of a fewer nombre of merchantes, of those that be rycher and that will deale and trade lyke merchants with ther stockes, and not with the exchange, as all the yong merchantes doo.

Thirdly, for the stay of the clothyng in the realme, wherof is to be douted some inconvenience in the realme: first in that part is to be considered that this stey from antwerp will brede no stay of clothyng to such as make any collered clothes, or to them which make carseys, or to them of the north that mak course clothes, for that the vent of them remayneth as good as before, both into spayne, france, and into the est contreys. And the carseys that wer wont to be sent into Italy by experience may pass thyther from Embden. Wherfor the care that is to be taken is onely of such townes and contreys as make fyne whyte clothes. For order wherin, if the statutes that ar provyded for makyng of trew clothes, for prohibityng of men to be clothyars that have not bene brought upp in the faculty, and for such lyke [were enforced], it wold brede to make a smaller nombre of clothyars of that sort; and for the order of the multitud that now presently is therin occupyed, it wer to be hoped that if men of discretion and creditt wer appoynted to see therto ther might be devisees how to kepe that multitud occupyed, partly by procuryng the makers of those whyt clothes to dye and coller them, partly by employeng some of those people about handy craftes or other labors. And rather than therof shuld grow by Idlenes any inconvenience, it wer better to collect the sturdyer and stronger sort of the men, and to send them into Ireland to helpe the peoplyng of the contrees ther.

17. DANGERS OF UNREGULATED TRADE TO BARBARY AND REQUEST FOR A MONOPOLY, 1574.

[S.P.D. Eliz., Vol. XCIX., No. 27.]

The Kynges of Spayne and of Portyngall for menye greatt and wayghtie consyderations suffrethe none of theyr subiectes to trafyque into the Kyngdom of barbarie in affrica butt by speciall lycens; by means whereof theyr sayed subiectes, havyng lycens and beyng knowen to be honest and expert merchantes, keepe theyr trade into the sayed contrie in good order, which ys verie expedyent and nessesarye, beyng in a londe of infidelles and enemies to all Chrystians.

The sayed trade into barbarie ys now of late greatlie frequentyd and occupied by Englyshe men, whereof menye are so vnscyllfull thatt, where the expert merchantes wear wont to make theyr returne in the same shyppes thaye sent theyr goodes in, nowe ytt ys too yeres before thaye can make theyr returne owt of thatt dangerous contrie. And besydes the vnscyllfull occupyers there are some vnlawfull occupiers into barbarie, thatt carrye treasure owt of thys realme to buye sugars with and nott clothes; wherebie her maiestie losethe her customes. Some others conveye provision for Gallies, as owers, brymstone, shyrtes of male and other municion, havyng greatt gayne and proffyt therebie, which thaye esteeme more then the savetie of menye poore Chrystians thatt are daylye taken captyves vppon the seas by the sayed infidelles.

For remedie whereof and to mayntayne the sayed trade in good order, thatt ytt wolde please her maiestie to graunt a lycens vnto certeyn honest and expert merchantes to occupie and trafique into barbarye, forbyddyng all others her maiesties subiectes the sayed trade butt only sutche as shall go vnder her maiesties lycens in effect as followeth:

Fyrste, thatt no Englysheman do trade into Barbarie but onlye the lycensed for the terme and space of xij yeres next ensuyng, in the which tyme thaye to shypp into barbarye xl^{m} clothes, and the same clothes to be shyppyd onlye from the port of London, payeng her maiesties customes as before tyme thaye haue done.

Item, thatt no Sugars shalbe returned or shypped owt of barbarie directlie into Englonde, butt by the merchantes lycenced. Ytt ys nott ment butt thatt all merchantes as well Englyshe as strangers maye bryng Sugars into Englonde att theyr pleasures owt of Portyngall, the Isles of Canaria or madera, or the yndyas, or from anye other places where sugars do growe and are made.

[*Endorsed*] A monopolye of the trade into Barbarye.

18. REASONS WHY THE TRADE OF HULL IS DEPESSERD, 1575 (?).

[S.P.D. Eliz., Vol. CVI., No. 59.]

Sertaine causes of the decay of the traffique in Kyngston vpon hull.

1. Inprimis, the falce makinge of our northerne Clothe, whiche in dede is a great hurte vnto our whole contrie, and overthroweth the merchantes in such sorte as they are not able to sett the navie on worke, as they haue doone in tymes paste.

2. Item, the greatest parte of the trade for lead is taken frome the towne: that is, that where it was wonte to comme wholye to the Towne to be sould there, nowe a great parte of it is shipt in the Ryver above, and so sent away, some parte to london, and some parte into fraunce and other places beyond the seas, and never commeth into the port of hull, which is great hynderance to the traffique of the sayd Towne, and the common welth thereof.

3. Item, the merchantes are so tyed vnto Companies, the heades whereof are Citizens of london, being farr distant from other portes within this Realme; whiche sayd heades maketh ordenances oftentymes beneficiall to them selves, but yett to others in the contrye the same ordenances is verye often hurtfull and verye chargeable lykewyse.

4. Item, by meanes of the sayd Companies (the Government whereof is rewlled onely in the Citie of london) all the whole trade of merchandize is in a maner brought to the Citie of london; whereby all the welthye chapmen and the best clothyers are drawen to london, and other portes hath in a maner no trafficque,

but falleth to great decay, the smart whereof we feele in our port of Kingston vpon hull.

5. Item, the decaye of the trafficque in the porte aforesayd, and the greate Impoostes of wynes and merchandizes which hathe bene raysed of late yeres, not onely in this Realme of England, but also in dyvers other Kyngdomes and contries, with the great wronges whiche the merchantes have susteyned at other forrein princes handes without any restitution, and the robbing of pyrates, so discourageth and impoveresheth the auncient and welthy marchantes that they gyve theyre trade of merchandize cleane over, and draweth them selves into the contrye, unto smaller charge and more quyetnes; whereby our poorte is vnfurnyshed of menne of abylitie and of grave councell to maynteine the same.

[*Endorsed*] Cawses of the decay of the shipping of Hull.

19. THE PRIVY COUNCIL INTERESTED IN THE INTRODUCTION OF NEW DYES FROM MUSCOVY AND PERSIA, 1579.

[Acts of the Privy Council, Vol. XI., p. 147.]

A letter to the Warden of the Diers that they would appointe two skillfull men of their Companye, thone a silk dier thother a clothe dier, to repaire into Moscovia and Persia with such of the Companye of merchantes trading those places as shortlie are to repaire thither, to learne and be instructed in a certaine perfecte arte of dyinge without woade used in those countreyes with a certaine matteriall called anyle of Persia, which maye be had in great quantity from thence and far better cheape then woade is here; wherby forasmuch as their Lordships are enformed there will redounde both to the whole Realme and to that Companye a great benefit and commoditye, their Lordships doubt not but that they will amonges them defraye the charges of the said ij persones which shalbe sent thither, or if they shall have anye laufull cause to the contrary or neade their Lordships' helpe in the matter, they are required to enforme their Lordships what their meaninge and desire is.

20. 'CERTAINE DIRECTIONS GIVEN BY M. RICHARD HACKLUIT OF THE MIDDLE TEMPLE, TO M. MORGAN HUBBLETHORNE, DIER, SENT INTO PERSIA,' 1579.

[Hakluyt, Principal Navigations, Vol. III., pp. 249-51.]

1. For that England hath the best wool and cloth of the world, and for that the clothes of the realme have no good vent, if good dying be not added: therefore it is much to be wished, that the dying of forren countreyes were seene, to the end that the arte of dying may be brought into the Realme in greatest excellency: for thereof will follow honour to the Realme, and great and ample vent of our clothes; and of the vent of clothes, will follow the setting of our poore on worke, in all degrees of labour in clothing and dying: for which cause most principally you are sent over at the charge of the city: and therefore for the satisfying the lords, and of the expectation of the merchants and of your company, it behooves you to have care to returne home with more knowledge then you caried out.

2. The great dearth of clothes is a great let in the ample vent of clothes, and the price of a cloth, for a fifth, sixth and seventh part riseth by the colour and dying: and therefore to devise to die as good colours with the one halfe of the present price were to the great commodity of the Realme, by saving of great treasure in time to come. And therefore you must have great care to have knowledge of the materials of all the countreys that you shall passe thorow, that may be used in dying, be they hearbs, weeds, barks, gummes, earths, or what els soever.

3. In Persia you shall finde carpets of course thrummed wooll, the best of the world, and excellently coloured: those cities and townes you must repaire to, and you must use meanes to learne all the order of the dying of those thrummes, which are so died as neither raine, wine, nor yet vinegar can staine: and if you may attaine to that cunning, you shall not need to feare dying of cloth: For if the colour holde in yarne and thrumme, it will holde muche better in cloth.

4. For that in Persia they have great colouring of silks, it behooves you to learne that also, for that cloth dying and silke

dying have a certaine affinity, and your merchants mind to bring much raw silke into the Realme, and therefore it is more requisit you learne the same.

5. In Persia there are that staine linnen cloth: it is not amisse you learne it if you can: it hath bene an olde trade in England, whereof some excellent clothes yet remaine: but the arte is now lost, and not to be found in the Realme.

6. They have a cunning in Persia to make in buskins of Spanish leather flowers of many kindes, in most lively colours, and these the Courtiers do weare there: to learne which arte were no harme.

7. If any Dier of China, or of the East parts of the world, be to be found in Persia, acquaint yourselfe with him, and learne what you may of him.

8. You shall finde Anile there, if you can procure the herbe that it is made of, either by seed or by plant, to cary into England, you may do well to endevour to enrich your countrey with the same: but withall learne you the making of the Anile, and if you can get the herbe, you may send the same dry into England, for possibly it groweth here already.

9. Returne home with you all the materials and substances that they die withall in Russia, and also in Persia, that your company may see all.

10. In some litle pot in your lodging, I wish you to make daily trials in your arte, as you shall from time to time learne ought among them.

11. Set downe in writing whatsoever you shall learne from day to day, lest you should forget, or lest God should call you to his mercy: and by ech returne I wish you to send in writing whatsoever you have learned, or at the least keepe the same safe in your coffer, that come death or life your countrey may enjoy the thing that you goe for, and not lose the charge, and travell bestowed in this case.

12. Learne you there to fixe and make sure the colour to be given by logge wood: so shall we not need to buy woad so deare, to the enriching of our enemies.

13. Enquire of the price of leckar, and all other things belonging to dying.

14. In any wise set downe in writing a true note from whence every of them doe come, and where, and in what countrey ech of them doth grow, I meane where the naturall place of ech of them is, as how neere to such a city, or to such a sea, or to such a portable river in Russia, Persia, or elsewhere.

15. If before you returne you could procure a singular good workeman in the arte of Turkish carpet making, you should bring the arte into this Realme, and also thereby increase worke to your company.

21. INJURY DONE TO THE MERCHANT ADVENTURERS' COMPANY BY MEMBERS TRADING DIRECT WITH SPAIN, 1579.

[The York Mercers and Merchant Adventurers, ed. M. Sellers (Surtees Soc., 1918), pp. 216-21.]

1. The worshippfull company of marchaunt adventurers, who have authorytie to make lawes and ordinaunces for the generall benyfite of the same, have alwaies had a care, accordinge to equitye and accordinge to their othe, to provide for the generall state thearof. Item, accordinge thearunto in tyme long syns, when the company wear oppressed by brethren keepinge shoppes of retayle in London and other partes of England, [who] did alsoe, becawse they weare free amongest us, goa over the sea and buy their wares at the marte townes as the rest of the company did; therfore the company enackted at that tyme, that no brother therof should occupye over the sea and at home by retayll att one tyme, but using the one he shoulde leave the other, wherby syns that tyme bothe sortes have the better lyved. And yet no doubt but many bothe would and could use bothe trades willinglye, and soe taike the livinge from their brotheren, as good members as they be, yf they weare not by this acte restrayned.

2. Item, the marchant adventurers tradinge Spayne (whoese trade as it is used dothe greatlye at this tyme hurt the generalytye) are necessarylye lyckwise by good lawes to be restrayned from occupyinge in the priviledged places of the company amongst us, unlesse they will give over occupieinge into Spayn,

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their trade, as the [*sic*] nowe use ytt, beinge onlye benyficiall unto themselves, but hurtfull to our companye.

3. Item, the merchant adventurers tradyinge Spayne doe now usuallye shipp great store of clothes and kersies to the mart townes, that with the monye that comethe of them their factors and servants may provide great store of comodities of Eastland, of Germany and Lowe Cowntries, which they use to ship thence directly into Spayne, and because the provisiones for thoes comodities must be made in tymes and seasones (as against the vintages), they shall in that respecte be driven to sell the said Englishe commodities the better cheape, and to smawll gayne; which althoughe they may doe soe and yet verry well lyve, in that their gayne lyethe rather in the forraine comodities thear bought, yet the body of the company, which have alwaies esteemed the comodities of England, can not lyve by soe smawll gaynes, and clothes, which wee shipp with great dificulty withe gettinge the licence from her majetie, as is thought to owre great benyfite, may by these meanes [be] soe imbased in price, as they may be sould to macke mony of, much licke to thinges solde in London in shiftes, whensoever dead saill be, wherof our bretheren tradinge Spayne shalbe occasion.

4. Item, our company, contrairy wise, traidinge onlye the marte townes, being verry great and ample, and hable to carry and vent the clothes and other Englishe comodyties for that trade withowt any help of our brethren tradinge Spayne, have made their wholl contynuall retourn of all manner of merchandize directlye to England, and wear wonte to buy wax, copper, fustianes of all sortes, lynen, clothe, tapistry, faies [*sic*, ? saies], moccadoes, and divers other comodyties made bothe in the lowe countries, and norren boroughe, and in hyghe Ducheland, and paid the quenes majestie her costome for theis goodes, whereof we sold many tymes great quantities to Spanishe merchauntes, that paid costomes agayne for the same, and so by this meanes the quene majestie receaved divers tymes dobble costome, the navye was doble sett on worcke, and the realme of England, throughe the which these merchandise came, was by those meanes haboundantlye furnyshed and satissfied. But nowe of thes benyfites of our retourn, both the quene majestie, the realme

and the company are deprived by these brethren that be free in Spayne, and their pretenders.

5. Item, it is to be feared that the marchant adventurers, tradinge and free in Spayne, will in smawll tyme by reason of their trade into many countries breed upp soe many servantes, which, if they shalbe free in bothe the corporacions as nowe their masters be, might growe to the hindraunce and hurt of bothe corporations, especyally of all suche of either of the said companyes as should not be free of bothe as they be; for their number, waxing in smaull tyme greate, and by their many wayes occupyinge, are liklye to growe welthye, they might and woulde overrule the meere corporation in bothe the companyes, if speedy remedy be not had. But for this owre company hathe bene auncient, and hathe longe tyme governed others, it behoovethe them the spedier to loocke for redresse, least others of newe corporationes govern, and rule, and over rule them, which in tyme is to be foreseen.

6. Item, in all the new corporationes the quene maietie and her counsell have foreseen and provided, for that non of any other societye shall easelie have previledge amongest them, no not owr company of merchant adventurers, which had libertye over all (with some except), as wee receave non [?] of them into owre fellowshipp, which dothe signifye that they accownt it a burthen to their corporationes to have amongest them brethren of other corporationes. Then likwise it is necessary for our company to indevour owre selves, havinge authorytie and habilytie, to lett in tyme to our power that brethren of thes newe corporationes growe not to burthen some of owre auncient company.

7. Item, in the service of our company this is a gret hurt and mischiefe to the same, when thoes that be chosen to be assistantes or comoties to doe our company good shalbe alsoe chosen to the same functions in the other new corporationes, whoe beinge sworn to bothe the companies to deall for the benyfite of eache, thear may fawll owt suche matter as may be directly opposit and contrary, and repugnant the one to the other; hearin either coldnes or neclygens at the least wise must needs appeare in the on, for no man can serve 2 masters; well, I say nothinge of the

suspition that will every day increase, especially when thinges comethe not to passe as wee look to have them; what a misery is this, when wee shall have in our corporation men that wee knowe can doe us good, and we are afearde to trust them that have in their power to helpe us, and lacke a good will to doe it.

8. Item, wheare we usually cawll courtes to heare mens opynions for the benyfite of our company, the brethren assembled beinge of soe many corporationes as of us, of Spayne, of Eastland, of the staple of Muscovye, etc., and using sundry contries, what strifes, contentions, and brawlers doe this stir up. For the most parte will have respecte whether the proposition put forthe dothe hurt or hinder that place whear they most frequent, and soe instead of sound counsell to doe the company good, wee shall have oppyniones, sectes, deviciones, brawles, and suspitiones amongest us, as if weare to begin hell uppon earthe; which will come by thes soe many corporacions that be amongest us.

9. Item, howe ordynaunces wilbe kept, wee have seen of late, and dayly doe see by experience, that whear the honourable counsell made a decree forbidinge trafficque to the haunes townes, and our company confirmed it by ordynaunce, yet some of thes bretheren, that be free of other societies, neither could nor have observed it, but sometymes by peticion, sometymes by complayninge and hart burninge, and sometymes by adventuringe without leave, some mens tornes have been served. What is to be looked for to be observed of our ordynaunces, if thoes ordynaunces ratified by a decree of the lords be broken? Moreover, the paiement of impositiones, loanes, taskes, and suche licke, howe well shall the company gather them amongest bretheren of soe manye societies, and occupieinge in soe many contries? For when wee shall looke for him in our mart townes, he wilbe gone into Spayne, or Eastland, and one contrye or corporation is as good for him as on other; soe wee shalbe defrauded, and the meere bretheren the more burthened.

10. Item, the lynitie of our company hathe been suche, that while the trade into Spayn was litle, the [*sic*] suffered and did tollerat the merchauntes thear tradinge to bringe and sell to and in the mart townes all sortes of Spanishe comodities, and that

withowt payment of any impositiones or duties to our house; which as our company had thearby no gayne att all, for the lessenyng of unfree mens trades, who by that meanes have seen into the doinges of the company, speedy remedye is to be sought forbiddinge factors, servants, and bretheren of the company to receave, handell, or sell the goods of any unfree man what soever, or to tacke upe, or deliver any mony per exchange for their behoofe, for wee thinck and hope that by force of our priviledges and auncient orders, our company may not onlye tacke impositions of them, but wholly restrayne them.

11. Item, it is apparant that some bretheren of our company, free bothe of our companye and the Spanishe, doe in their trade from Andwarpe into Spain and Portingall joyne themselves in portable dealinges with unfree men, and their servantes are made partakers of the secrets of the comodyties, and reckonynges of our company, whilst they make their portable provisiones for Spayne and other countries. Thearfore, for that men in these daies have suche respecte to themselves that they forgett their bretheren, yea sometymes thear othe, they are either to be punysshed for offence comyttid, ore els to be under great penalty forbiddinge such occupyenge, wherby they should bring the utter decaye, subvercion, and desolation of the companye.

Wherefore, the premisses consithered, wee think it verry needfull that you would forthwithe by acte provide forbiddinge all bretheren of our company tradinge Spayne, Eastland, etc., duringe their said trades to occupye as a merchaunt adventurer in our preveledged places, and that before he be enhabeled to occupye amonge us, he shalbe holden to give our companye a yeares warninge, that he will leave of that trade of Spayne and Eastland, and occupye amongest us as a meere merchaunt adventurer.

Jesu. As before tyme hathe bin provided for the retaylors in the acte of retaile, all that is afore written is the opynion and judgement of sundrye bretheren, well willers of the company, and the wrighters wishethe it accordinglye; but the opynion and judgement of the wrighter is that, notwithstandinge sufficient reasons and arguments are alledged whye bretheren free of the companye trading Spayne and Portingall, etc., should be quite

cut of from any trade amongest us, for that I think the same wilbe verry hard to gett them to doe it for sundrye reasones that they will alledge, as that the trade between the East parte and the lowe countries is but the trade the straunger did, and yett dothe use, and then whye not they? I for i [one] thinck it good that thear be a tolleration that in restrayninge them the shippers of clothes, kersies, etc., they should have lybertye for the rest.

Item, it is alsoe to be consithered and remembred howe the trade to and from Hambroughe might be stayed, and the offendours better mett with all. I thinck the smaull penaltie of the acte imboldens divers to adventure to do as they doe; for this last weeke heare arryved 2 shippes fully laden from Hambroughe. Written in London this 18th Marche, anno 1579, by a rude and ill wrighter, but yet a well wisher, etc. Nicolas.

This agreeth with the coppye presented in the courte att Andwarpe, Gilpin, Secretary.

22. ARGUMENTS FOR AND AGAINST INCORPORATING THE BARBARY MERCHANTS, 1582 (?).

[S.P.D. Eliz., Vol. CLVII., No. 85.]

[I.] There are no Reasons to be had of any weight inducing that Merchauntes trading Barbarie should be Incorporated, but good Reasons to the contrarie.

First, vnlesse the Kinge of Barbarie geve his assent, and also make his graunte of freedome and priveledge in this behalfe, this Corporacion or any Ordinaunces to be made here touching any thing to be done in that Cuntrie wilbe of small effecte.

Item, a Gouernor and xij Adsistentes in London shall hardlie take suche notice here of any facte done in Barbarie, as that thervppon they may dulie execute their Ordinaunces here.

Item, yf any so disposed shall do any Acte against their Ordinaunces to the Advauntaige of the Kinge of Barbarie, or his Cuntrie, it is to be presumed that he shall haue as muche favor there and more in this behalfe then the Governour and the whole Corporation.

Item, it wilbe in vaine to appoynte one discreet man a Ledger in Barbarie, yf any suche be there, to Rule all the rest by such ordinaunces as shalbe prescribed by the Master or Gouernours here, when as every vnrulie person shall there stand free at his owne libertie whether he wilbe ruled or no.

Item, the Kinge of Barbarie and all his Subiectes are barbarous Infidels, and withowte any knowledge of the trewe God, and his Maiestrates governe by Tyranie. And therfore the daunger wilbe greate to execute any ordinaunce of this corporacion with in his kingdome, yf it shalbe vnderstode to him or any of his Maiestrates.

Item, there doth not appere any Commoditie by this corporacion which may be enlarged to the Merchauntes of our Cuntrie more then alredie they enioye. For otherwise then by restreyninge of the shipping thither to certen tymes there is no reason to be shewed of any greate matter to be done by this Corporacion more then euery venturer thither now may doo solie of him selfe, yf he have the competent knowledge of a merchaunte.

Item, it is sene by experience that wheare alredie the merchauntes are incorporated, and haue a generall freedome of trafique to one sorte of men, yet euery man of that sorte, althoughe he be vnder the obedience of certen generall ordinaunces, yet his trafique is private and therin he standeth vppon his owne devise.

[II.] There is greate Reason to kepe reasonable men in order and to bridell vnreasonable men trading into Barbarie by incorporating them.

Although the Kinge of Barbarie geue no assent, yet may there be orderes devised here for the use of trafique there, which may tend to the common benefit of our cuntrie and the Companie, and the sellinge of our comodities and byenge of theirs to advauntaige; neither is it to be dispaired but that priveledges may be obteined there, the companie being Inablyd to receyve them by incorporatinge heare, yf they shalbe thought necessarie.

Saphia for discharge and Sancta Crucis for the ladinge.

The Portes of trafique and the comodities sente and broughte are not so many or diuers but any Act done there contrarie to

order prescribed here may be knowne and punnyshed heare, yf the case so require.

Everie prince seeketh to entertaine merchauntes and mainteine trafique so longe as merchauntes orderlie behaue themselves, as being incorporate they best may, withoute meaninge to dooe any thinge should hinder the Prince or mainteine anie suche. And yf any subiect shall seke to Impeache them there, he must of a Christien become a Infidell and abandon his countrie, which can not be entended; but yf he be not restreined by order and feare of punishmente at home, it may then be doubtyd that some gready person will practise for his owne commoditie to the hurte of his cuntriemen and cuntrie.

It wilbe to very good purpose that suche as shall occupie there be directed by good prescribed orders from hence to gouerne themselves in their occupieng: namelie, seing the commoditie of that cuntrie is in so few mens handes as a few wilie heddes with greate stockes may, by ingrosinge the hole commoditie, exclude all other their cuntrie men and sell heare at home as they list, as is in effect brought to passe, all comodities being solde theare to muche lesse advauntaige, and their commoditie, viz. Sugar, muche aduaunced in price theare, and so consequentlie raysed heare from ix *d.* to xiiij *d.*

It is not mente withoute the concente of the King of Barbarie to put any orders in execution there, neither is it needfull, seing the places of trafique are but twaine, and the merchauntes to deale with are but few in one Companie; but the direction for redresse of the enormities now vsed may be heare.

It is confessed that restreyning of Shipping to certein tymes thether may be a commoditye, and that withoute a corporacion cannot be. Evin so may it be beneficiall that a indifferent proporcion be appointed to euery man, least otherwise, the trade beinge not greate, one, twoo, three or a small number may with their greate substaunce ouerley the yonger and poorer sorte and the greater number, and so in the ende attayne too monopolie, and consequentlie sell here as they list, evin as it is alredie putt in experience.

Althoughe particuler members of merchantes incorporated doo vse their owne devise, yet experience hath taught them to

restreyne them selves, euery man according to his calling, to a quantitie of shippinge, least the welthie should oppresse the yonger and meaner sorte, and so it is vsed with the merchauntes of the Staple and merchauntes adventureres. Neyther is the assersion so generall as is alledgyd, for the merchauntes that trade Muscovia, which are not the unexpertest of trade, do occupie one entier stocke, and do not admitt euery private Mans devise.

Finallie, yf experience have taught in so few years that owr commodities [are] solde in Barbarie at muche lesse advauntaige then at the first, and that the Commodities of that Countrey are now at muche greater price, whiche groweth through the greate disorders of some that are so private to them selves as doo practise to ingrosse the hole trade into their owne handes, meanyng in tyme, having attayned the Monopolie, to exclude all other honest and skilfull merchauntes, it is not onelie consonaunt to reason, but most necessarie to incorporate them, for to prevente the further disorders and mischef that are like to followe for lacke of good order.

[*Endorsed*] Arguments agaynst the incorporating of merchantes trading Barbary and answer too the same.

23. REASONS OF THE MERCHANT ADVENTURERS FOR LEAVING ANTWERP, 1582 (?)

[S.P.D. Eliz., Vol. CLVII., No. 80.]

The causes of the late departure of the english merchantes from Andwarp.

First, because the Italiens and high duchmen (persons with whome thenglish have their chief traffique) have by litle and litle ever since the losse of Oudenare abated the former quantitie of their former merchandizes from Andwarp, and since the losse of Lire have much more abated the same, and with drawen many of their persons from thence and rest at Coleyn, where now they staple the greatest parte of their merchandizes and send no more to Andwarp then they can make sale of beforehand, and the residue they send to Wesell, to Dorte, to Middleburgh and other places of the lowe contries; so as the former traffique of the

merchantes Adventurers, beinge a companie under order and government and settled in one certein place, have in maner their whole trade diminished and diverted from Andwerp to the other places aforesaid.

Item, by this meanes englishmen that are straglers under no orderly government and not free of the merchantes Adventurers, and strangers of other contries, have found greater trade and traffique with english comodites in the places aforesaid then th' Adventurers had at Andwarp of late. Insomuch that divers naturall Burgesses of Andwarp, for the decay of the traffique there, have before the departure of th' Adventurers forsaken Andwarp and make their aboad in divers of the other places aforesaid.

All merchantes by necessitie haunt those Cities and townes that are most fitt and profitable to them in their traffique, and whereas they finde either small traffique or any notable decay of former traffique they accordingly chaunge their aboad and folow the trade. Otherwise they must cease to be merchantes.

For because the former trade of thenglish is so decaied at Andwarp and diverted to other places, not onely the Italiens, highduch and many others, but also the naturall Burgesses of Andwarp, ensuing the trade of merchandize where for the time it is most comodious, have leaft Antwarp and make aboad in other the places aforesaid. And the merchantes Adventurers, as most loathe to leave their former place where they were settled, and were very well housed, with many other thinges comodious, which besides the great chardges of their removinge is very chardgeable to provide againe, have now last, as compelled by necessity to folow the trade of their merchandizes, left Andwarp and repaired to Middleburgh, being in the same contrey, of the same state, and a town wherein they are anciently priviledged, with like liberties as they had at Andwarp. And the same state doth now take asmuch benefitt by thenglish trade at Middleborough as they before did at Andwarpe.

[*Endorsed*] The Merchant Adventurers reasons why they doe not continew their trade at Andwarp.

24. THE MERCHANT ADVENTURERS' ANSWER TO THE CRITICISMS OF THE HANSE LEAGUE, 1582 (?)

[S.P.D. Eliz., Vol. CLVII., No. 82.]

There are only two allegacions of the Hanses alledged against the merchantes of England called merchantes adventurers in their libelles exhibited to themperors maiestie which be of any moment to be answered unto, viz:—

That the seid merchantes doo hold and kepe at Embden a monopolie in their trade and trafique of merchandize there;

Item, that there they hold and kepe a banke of usurie.

And for these causes in especiall and as of weight they travaile with themperours maiestie to remove them from the said towne of Embden and their trafique there.

For answer to the first allegacion, the seid merchants doo saye that they neither doo kepe or intend to keepe, nor in any former tyme haue kept, a monopolie in their trafique at Embden or elswhere. A monopolie, as they thinke, is whereas one man, or many men of one Company or associacion, doo engrosse or buye uppe one or dyverse sortes of merchandize and so sell the same againe to their private gaine, to the disapoyntinge of all others of that first buyinge and sellinge of those merchandizes.

The seid merchantes adventurers have of them selfes a governour and fellowship incorporated for mayntenance of goode maners and lawfull and orderly buyinge, sellinge and ordynarie tyme of shippinge, etc., all which are in mayntenance of the common wealthe of their wholle cuntrey and not in any unlawfull preiudice of any other cuntrey.

They in all buyinge and sellinge of their merchandizes have no buyinge or sellinge in common, no factor or agent of their common charge or for them in common in any wise. But every man a parte, of his owne particler stock and devise, dothe buye and sell to his owne use as secretly from the knoledge of others of the Fellowship as he cann; and doo endevour by all lawfull meanes one to prevent an other in buyinge and sellinge of all their merchandize as mere straungers one to an other. There is no sett or lymyted price emonge them for buyinge or sellinge

any commoditie, and in all experience yt is founde they buye and sell at different prices one from an other of the same merchandizes. Their Fellowship, beinge only for comely governement, order and saftie in shippinge of their goodes in fleetes and shippes ordered and appoynted for defence of pirates, etc., cann never be truly termed neither hathe any thinge in yt like to a monopolie.

For the slaunder of usury raised of the seid merchantes, they saye the same is merely malicious without cause. For they saye they have no common stock of wares or money to employ in loane or to sell. Sumtyme particlerly [*sic*] men soly and for their particler use delyver their money by exchange, as thexchange dothe goo betwene cuntrey and cuntrey, and as all other merchantes doo. Thexchange is no more governed by them then by all other merchantes, for it is in every mans owne disposition to make exchange of his owne as the mutuall oportunytie in respect of severall cuntreys maye require. Vsurie is in lendinge and forbearing for excessive gayne. But the seid Fellowship of merchantes doo not of their common stock lend at all, neither to their knoledge any particler man of their felloship lend for usury at Embden. And in their owne cuntrey all usury upon greate extreme penaltie is prohibited.

[*Endorsed*] An answer of the adventurers to the accusatyons of the Hanses.

25. PETITION FOR RELIEF OF MERCHANTS EXCLUDED FROM TRADE BY THE BARBARY COMPANY, 1582 (?)

[S.P.D. Eliz., Vol. CLVII., No. 86.]

George Gyppes, a merchante tradinge to Barbarye and partner with John Boldrowe, ys restrayned from his trafique thither by the merchantes of the newe encorporate Societie.

Gyppes sueth to be admitted into theire Companye upon theise reasons followinge, viz. for that:

Gypps former Reasons.

1. He was a trader into Barbarye longe before and sythence the newe graunte.

2. Boldrowe and Gypps were partners at the tyme of the graunte. Boldrowe ys named in yt and Gyppes leafte out.

Gypps former Reasons.

3. Gippes contributed with Boldrowe towards the Chardge of the newe graunte.

4. Gyppes hath remayned in Barbarye accomptes both in stocke and Creditte 1500 .

5. Gyppes hath deminished other trades to make himself more hable for Barbary.

6. If Gyppes be restrayned, Boldrowe hathe not to adventure (all his goodes being stayde in Spayne).

Notwithstandinge all theise reasons, and the Lettres of the Lords of the Councell wrytten on the behalf of Gyppes to the Societie, they refuse to admitte him upon theise pretenced causes followinge :—

Thexcuse of the Socieitie.

The newe graunte (saye they) was meante to the meere merchantes. Gyppes ys a Retayllinge Lynnen draper.

The graunte was made in reliffe of fiftie thowsand pounds losse happened by reason the Jewes of the sugar howses bankrupted, wherof Gyppes bare nothinge.

The replye of Gipps to the 2 laste excuses.

Manye shopkeapers are knowne to be great merchantes; the Lawes and Statutes doe not Cutte them from yt. Gyppes is knowne to sell in grosse as other merchantes doe, and ys no Commen retaylour. The merchantes of the Societie trade to dyvers other Realmes aswell as to Barbarye. So dothe not Gyppes, save onely to Barbarye.

Manye of the nowe merchantes of the Societie bare none of the losse, neither then were traders there. And dyvers which bare that losse are not named in the newe graunte.

The extremtiyes which Gyppes and his partner are in.

For asmutche as Gyppes and Boldrowe (bona fide) before the graunte were partners, and so are yet, in suche sorte as withoute incurringe great forfayture they cannot separate;

And for that Gyppes hathe alreadye imployed in stocke and Credytte in Barbarie accomptes 1500li and hath a factour resident there;

And for that yf Gyppes and Boldrowe weare nowe restrayned (theire goods beinge provided for that Contrey and the Shipps to departe presently) yt would be theire utter undoinge;

The petition of Gipps and his partner.

The humble peticion of Gyppes and Boldrowe ys that yt would please your honours to take presente order that Gippes may be admitted to the said Societie, or els that for this present voyage theire goodes provided may be shipped, and have fraighte for that returne, and then the matter for Gyppes admission to be further considered by your Lordshipps.

[*Endorsed*] The Articles of Gippes and Boldrowe to trade Barbarye.

26. PETITION FROM THE MERCHANT ADVENTURERS TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL TO SUPPRESS INTERLOPERS, 1584 (?)

[S.P.D. Eliz., Vol. CLXXV., No. 94.]

Reasons exhibited by the merchantes adventurers touchinge their trade.

Experience of many yeres contynuance hathe proved their ordered and gouerned trade, not only in and to diuerse places of the lowe cuntreis, but also in and to Germanie, as lately at Hamburgh, and presently at Embden and at Midleburgh in Zealand, to be and allwayes to have bene to the greate benefytt of this common welthe, aswell in vtteringe greate quantitie of wollen clothes and other merchandizes as in advauncinge and maynteyninge goode prises and reputacion of the same.

Also by late experience it is founde that the dispersinge of this trade, and breakinge of the Government therof, hathe and dothe not only hinder the vtterance of our clothes, but also abase the prises and estymacion therof, and therewith advaunce the prises of forein merchandizes, and cause the bringinge of muche evill and deceitfull wares into this Realme.

For nowe, whilest the merchantes adventurers kepe their trade at Middleburgh and Embden, dyuerse Englishe subiectes Carrie clothes to Hamburgh, and landinge the same there carrye the same afterwardes within the lande to dyuerse other cyties of Germanie and Italie; and havinge once brought their clothes so farre into the lande, the people, knowinge they cann not carrie them back agayne without extreme losse, doo eyther offer

very lowe prises therfore or els offer for the same evill silkes or other deceytfull wares in Bartrie, wherof growe to our cuntrey all the losses aforeseid. And also thereby suche wanderers into the lande bringe the hatred of all the merchantes of the Inland cyties vppon our cuntrey men, notinge vs of suche covetousnes as that we cann not be contentid with the trade from our owne cuntrey to their portes, but also that we will haue the trade from them within the lande; where, if we leafte them thone, they wolde well agree and like that we shuld haue thother.

Also, whilest there is a treatie dependinge with the Hanze townes of Germanie for restitucion of the merchantes adventurers to their former trade at Hamburgh, and likewise a messinger presently departinge towardes Embden to treate for the contynuance of their priviledges and trade there, yf thenglishe subiectes doo carrie clothes and other merchandizes from hense to Hamburgh and kepe trade there and in the Cuntrey about (as nowe they commonly do), the hanse townes will neuer offer any resonable condicions for restitucion of the trade of the merchantes adventurers.

Also dyuerse englishe subiectes doo contynually shippe clothes and other merchandizes from hence to Calais, Gravelyn, Dunkerk and newporte, and so kepe a contynuall trafique with those of flaunders and other places vnder the Gouernment of the prince of parma, to their greate wealthe and mayntenance, and with all doo carrie to them muche vitaile of all kyndes, without which they could hardly maynteyn their State. And thereby the trafique at Middleburgh is greately hindered, etc.

Wherefore the seid merchantes adventurers humbly praye that accordinge to their lordships former decree all englishe subiectes maye be prohibited to ship any merchandizes to any porte of Germanie, betwene the Ryvers of Ems and the Skawe, and that no subiect aforeseid, or other, doo ship any merchandize or vytayle from hence to Calais, Gravelyn, Dunkerk or newporte, or elswhere, to the hurte of the seid trade at Middleburgh or Embden. As for the pretendid trade to Italy by Hamburgh, it were more profitable and better for mayntenance of our navigacion that the same were frequented through the Italian

seas, for passinge by Hamburgh the goodes for the moste parte are sold in Germanie and neuer comme into Italie.

[*Endorsed*] Reasons exhibited by the Merchants Adventurers towching their trade and their petition thervppon.

27. PETITION FROM MERCHANTS TRADING TO VENICE, 1584.

[S.P.D. Eliz., Vol. CLXXVII., No. 55.]

In moste humble wise shewethe vnto your honorable Lordshippe the Marchauntes tradinge by seas into the Dominions of the Signoria of venis: that whereas for our reliefe about twoe yeres paste we obteyned by ordre from the Counselles table her Maiesties letters pattents for the sole bringinge in of currans and sweete greekishe oyles, etc., for the better continuaunce of our said trade into the saide dominions, firste in respecte that we were the firste discoverers of the saide trade, as allso for the better mayntenaunce of our owne shippinge, which we bulte of purpose for the saide trade, and are the beste marchauntes shippes in this Realme; secondlie in respecte of the grevous Impositions levied vppon vs by the saide signoria vppon the soddayne, beinge damnified therebie at that instant more then two thowsande poundes, for the which her Maiestie hathe often tymes wrytten vnto the saide signoria in our behalf for restitution, but they to this daye haue had no regarde therevnto; and thirdlie in respecte of a pece of money ordred vs to paye for Acerbo Velutelli his pattent, to make voyde the same, which otherwise vntill this daye hade bene in force. These causes then moved the honorable counsaile in mercie to relieve vs with the saide pattent, beinge then thoughte a sufficient recompence for our hinderaunce sustayned. Sins which tyme we haue not reaped anie Comoditie by the same, but reposinge ourselves to be relieved therbie haue sett aworke all these shippes vnderwrytten, to the great benefitt of this Common weale and experte marriners of this Realme, and haue broughte in suche a quantitie of currans, for the which we paide vnto the Signoria of venis tenne duccatts for euerie thowsande Imposte; and the saide currans lye so heavie nowe vppon our handes by meanes of great

quantities broughte in by straungers contrarie to our saide pattent, which straungers payed no Imposte in the dominions of the Signoria of venis for the same (as we did) and therefore maye sell them the better cheape, that vnlesse your Lordshippe be goode and gratious vnto vs, to permytte vs to inyoye the benefitt of our pattent, we shall be vtterlie spoyled and vndone. Wherefore we humblie beseche your Lordshippe to take order that those Straungers that haue broughte in currans contrarie to her Maiesties letters pattentes graunted vnto vs, and by ordre from the bourde of the Councell, put in boundes to pay vnto vs suche Imposte for the same as shoulde be determined and sett doune by your honours, that we maye haue the same for our relief. And thus we your humble poore Suppliauntes in respecte of our great hinderaunce susteyned shall be somewhat relieved, and incouraged to maynteyne our shippinge still to the great benefitt of this Realme, her Maiestie in honor preserved, that hathe wrytten to the said signoria of venis that, excepte they do put doune their late increased Imposte and restore vnto vs suche money as we had paide them for Imposte of currans, their subiectes comminge into her Maiesties Dominions shoulde be measured with the same measure and that not in wordes, but in dede. And so we your poore Suppiauntes accordinge to our bounden dutie shall be bounde daylie to praye for your honour in muche healthe and felicitie longe to indure.

The Names of our owne Shippes whereof 3 of them were in the Straightes in Anno domini 1584.

The Riall marchaunte	tonnes 350	marriners	60.
The Suzan	tonnes 260	,,	50.
The Edward bonaventure	tonnes 240	,,	40.
The George bonaventure	tons 160	,,	34.
The Thomas bonaventure	tons 100	,,	25.

The Names allso of other Shippes sett aworke by vs into the Dominions of the Signoria of venis in Anno domini 1584.

The Assention of London	tonnes 170	marriners	36.
The Samaritan	tonnes 140	,,	30.
The Marie Rose	tonnes 130	,,	28.

The Ales Thomas	tonnes 140	marriners	28.
The gifte of God	tonnes 130	,,	27.
The Margeret bonaventure	tons 120	,,	26.
The Redde Lion	tonnes 150	,,	30.
The Harrie bonaventure	tonns 120	,,	27.
The Trinitie bonaventure	tonnes 140	,,	30.

[*Endorsed*] Petition of the marchantes trading to Venis and Leuant 1584.

28. THE FIRST COLONISTS IN VIRGINIA, 1585-87.

[Hakluyt, Principal Navigations, Vol. VIII., pp. 319-20, 331-32, 349-53, 363-64.]

1. *Letter from Ralph Lane, Governor of the Colony*, 1585-87.

In the meane while you shall understand, that since Sir Richard Greenvil's departure from us, as also before, we have discovered the maine to be the goodliest oyle under the cope of heaven, so abounding with sweete trees, that bring such sundry rich and pleasant gummes, grapes of such greatnesse, yet wilde, as France, Spaine nor Italie have no greater, so many sorts of Apothecarie drugs, such several kinds of flaxe, and one kind like silke, the same gathered of a grasse, as common there, as grasse is here. And now within these few dayes we have found here Maiz or Guinie wheate, whose eare yeeldeth corne for bread 400. upon one eare, and the Cane maketh very good and perfect sugar, also Terra Samia, otherwise Terra sigillata. Besides that, it is the goodliest and most pleasing Territorie of the world: for the continent is of an huge and unknowen greatnesse, and very well peopled and towned, though savagely, and the climate so wholsome, that wee had not one sicke since we touched the land here. To conclude, if Virginia had but horses and kine in some reasonable proportion, I dare assure myselfe being inhabited with Englishe, no realme in Christendome were comparable to it. For this already we finde, that what commodities soever Spaine, France, Italy, or the East partes doe yeeld unto us, in wines of all sortes, in oyles, in flaxe, in rosens, pitch, frankensence,

corrans, sugers, and such like, these parts doe abound with the growth of them all, but being Savages that possesse the land, they know no use of the same. And sundry other rich commodities, that no parts of the world, be they West or East Indies, have, here wee finde great abundance of. The people naturally are most courteous, and very desirous to have clothes, but especially of course cloth rather then silke, course canvas they also like well of, but copper caryeth the price of all, so it be made red. Thus good M. Hakluyt and M. H., I have joyned you both in one letter of remembrance, as two that I love dearely well, and commending me most heartily to you both, I commit you to the tuition of the Almightie. From the new Fort in Virginia, this third of September, 1585.

Your most assured friend Ralph Lane.

2. *Ralph Lane on Inducements to Colonisation*, 1586.

. . . I have set downe this Voyage somewhat particularly, to the ende it may appeare unto you (as true it is) that there wanted no great good will from the most to the least amongst us, to have perfited this discoverie of the Mine: for that the discovery of a good Mine, by the goodnesse of God, or a passage to the South-sea, or some way to it, and nothing els can bring this Countrey in request to be inhabited by our nation. And with the discovery of either of the two above shewed, it will bee the most sweete and healthfullest climate, and therewithall the most fertile soyle (being manured) in the world: and then will Sassafras, and many other rootes and gummes there found make good marchandise and lading for shipping, which otherwise of themselves will not be worth the fetching.

3. *Thomas Heriot on some of the Colonists*, 1587.

To the Adventurers, Favourers, and Welwillers of the enterprise for the inhabiting and planting in Virginia.

Since the first undertaking by Sir Walter Ralegh to deale in the action of discovering of that countrey which is now called and knowen by the name of Virginia, many voyages having beene thither made at sundry times to his great charge; as first in the

yere 1584, and afterwards in the yeres 1585, 1586, and now of late this last yeere 1587: there have beene divers and variable reports, with some slanderous and shamefull speeches bruted abroad by many that returned from thence: especially of that discovery which was made by the Colony transported by Sir Richard Grinvile in the yere 1585, being of all others the most principall, and as yet of most effect, the time of their abode in the countrey being a whole yere, when as in the other voyage before they stayed but sixe weeks, and the others after were onely for supply and transportation, nothing more being discovered than had bene before. Which reports have not done a little wrong to many that otherwise would have also favoured and adventured in the action, to the honour and benefit of our nation, besides the particular profit and credit which would redound to themselves the dealers therein. . . .

Of our company that returned, some for their misdemeanour and ill dealing in the countrey have bene there worthily punished, who by reason of their bad natures, have maliciously not onely spoken ill of their Governours, but for their sakes slandered the countrey it selfe. The like also have those done which were of their consort.

Some being ignorant of the state thereof, notwithstanding since their returne amongst their friends and acquaintance, and also others, especially if they were in company where they might not be gainsayd, would seeme to know so much as no men more, and make no men so great travellers as themselves. They stood so much, as it may seeme, upon their credit and reputation, that having bene a twelvemoneth in the countrey, it would have bene a great disgrace unto them, as they thought, if they could not have sayd much, whether it were true or false. Of which some have spoken of more then ever they saw, or otherwise knew to be there. Other some have not bene ashamed to make absolute deniall of that, which although not by them, yet by others is most certainly and there plentifully knowen, and other some make difficulties of those things they have no skill of.

The cause of their ignorance was, in that they were of that many that were never out of the Island where we were seated,

or not farre, or at the least wise in few places els, during the time of our abode in the country: or of that many, that after gold and silver was not so soone found, as it was by them looked for, had litle or no care of any other thing but to pamper their bellies: or of that many which had litle understanding, lesse discretion, and more tongue then was needfull or requisite.

Some also were of a nice bringing up, only in cities or townes, or such as never (as I may say) had seene the world before. Because there were not to be found any English cities, nor such faire houses, nor at their owne wish any of their old accustomed dainty food, nor any soft beds of downe or feathers, the countrey was to them miserable, and their reports thereof according.

Because my purpose was but in briefe to open the cause of the variety of such speeches, the particularities of them, and of many envious, malicious and slanderous reports and devices els, by our owne countreymen besides, as trifles that are not worthy of wise men to be thought upon, I meane not to trouble you withall, but will passe to the commodities, the substance of that which I have to make relation of unto you.

The Treatise whereof, for your more ready view and easier understanding, I will divide into three speciall parts. In the first I will make declaration of such commodities there already found or to be raised, which will not onely serve the ordinary turnes of you which are and shall be the planters and inhabitants, but such an overplus sufficiently to be yeelded, or by men of skill to be provided, as by way of traffique and exchange with our owne nation of England, will inrich your selves the providers: those that shall deale with you, the enterprisers in generall, and greatly profit our owne countreymen, to supply them with most things which heretofore they have bene faine to provide either of strangers or of our enemies, which commodities, for distinction sake, I call Merchantable.

In the second I will set downe all the commodities which we know the countrey by our experience doth yeeld of it selfe for victuall and sustenance of mans life, such as are usually fed upon by the inhabitants of the countrey, as also by us during the time we were there.

In the last part I will make mention generally of such other

commodities besides, as I am able to remember, and as I shall thinke behoovefull for those that shall inhabit and plant there to know of, which specially concerne building, as also some other necessary uses: with a brief description of the nature and maners of the people of the countrey. . . .

4. *The same on Tobacco.*

There is an herbe which is sowed apart by it selfe, and is called by the inhabitants Uppowoc: in the West Indies it hath divers names, according to the severall places and countreys where it groweth and is used: The Spanyards generally call it Tabacco. The leaves thereof being dried and brought into pouder, they use to take the fume or smoake thereof, by sucking it thorow pipes made of clay, into their stomacke and head; from whence it purgeth superfluous fleame and other grosse humours, and openeth all the pores and passages of the body: by which meanes the use thereof not onely preserveth the body from obstructions, but also (if any be, so that they have not bene of too long continuance) in short time breaketh them: whereby their bodies are notably preserved in health, and know not many grievous diseases, wherewithall we in England are often times afflicted.

This Uppowoc is of so precious estimation amongst them, that they thinke their gods are marvellously delighted therewith: whereupon sometime they make hallowed fires, and cast some of the pouder therin for a sacrifice: being in a storme upon the waters, to pacifie their gods, they cast some up into the aire and into the water: so a weare for fish being newly set up, they cast some therein and into the aire: also after an escape of danger, they cast some into the aire likewise: but all done with strange gestures, stamping, sometime dancing, clapping of hands, holding up of hands, and staring up into the heavens, uttering therewithall, and chattering strange words and noises.

We our selves, during the time we were there, used to sucke it after their maner, as also since our returne, and have found many rare and woonderfull experiments of the vertues thereof: of which the relation would require a volume by it selfe: the use

of it by so many of late, men and women of great calling, as els, and some learned Physicians also, is of sufficient witnesse.

29. TRANSLATION OF A LETTER FROM A SPANISH AGENT IN ENGLAND ON ENGLISH TRADE AND SHIPPING, 10 NOV., 1586.

[Cal. of State Papers . . . in the Archives of Simancas, Vol. III., No. 505, pp. 651-53.]

. . . With regard to the return of Frances Drake from the Indies, I advised that he had arrived here and what he had brought. He captured at Santo Domingo, Cartagena, and elsewhere, about 140 pieces of bronze ordnance, some very good and large, as well as a number of iron pieces. About 16,000 or 18,000 ducats worth of pearls, rather more than 150,000 ducats of gold and silver, and some merchandise which he captured in Santo Domingo. He had 800 men on the voyage, and the valuation made of what he brought for division among the persons who subscribed the funds for the venture amounted to 43,000 *l.* of our money, although the real value must reach fully ten or twelve thousand pounds more. Up to the present, however, not a groat has been given to anyone but the soldiers and sailors, who got 6 *l.* each, which is equal to 20 Spanish crowns. This has caused great turmoil and discontent amongst them, but to no effect. The rest of the proceeds were lodged in the Tower. The affair has turned out so badly for them, that it may be concluded they will not again go to the Indies to sack towns.

They are much troubled with this war they have entered into against Spain, as the whole country is without trade, and knows not how to recover it; the shipping and commerce here having mainly depended upon the communication with Spain and Portugal. They feel the deprivation all the more now, with the loss of the cloth trade with Germany, which they formally carried on through Holland and up the Rhine, but have now been deprived of by the capture of Nutz on that river. If Berck be taken also, which please God it will be now that the neighbouring places have been taken, they will not be able to send any

cloth at all, and this is causing much dissatisfaction all over the country. The rest of their trade with the other German ports and Muscovy is a mere trifle, as all they brought from those places was sent by them to Spain, and their Spanish trade being now gone the other is of no use to them, as they do not know what to do with the merchandise they bring hither. All that is left to them is the Levant trade, which is with Turkey and Italy, and that with Barbary. If these two are taken from them, which can be easily done, they will be driven into a corner, without any commerce or navigation at all. Their French trade is very insignificant, and is carried on by a few small vessels only.

Great importance should be attached to stopping their Levant trade, which may be done by carefully guarding the Straits of Gibraltar against ships from here, whose sailing I will report and give particulars of their number, in order that a sufficient force of galleys and galleons may be placed in the Straits to stop their passage. I will also report the sailing of ships for Barbary, in order that an effort may be made to impede that trade also; and I can assure your Lordship, if this were done for a single year, it would bring them perforce to surrender on any terms His Majesty might please to dictate, both with regard to the fortresses they have seized, and the restitution of their plunder, and above all would prevent them from preying on the seas in future. On this latter point I will also give my opinion and say what I think will be best for His Majesty's interests and those of his subjects.

All the ships coming from Brazil should meet in some port there and sail together, accompanied by some armed vessels, the cost of which convoy could be divided amongst the flotilla. The ships from Santo Domingo might do the same, keeping a very sharp look out. The ships from the East Indies and elsewhere might be met by strongly armed ships of the fleet and convoyed in, but the most important point of all is to look well to the safety of the flotillas from the [West] Indies, upon which these people especially have their eyes fixed. Placing on one side the profit that they individually expect to gain, they think that the attaching of the [West] Indian ships will be a

great blow to His Majesty, which will enable them the better to carry on the war and gain their ends.

I can assure your Lordship that it is impossible to give notice of the equipping of ships here for the purpose of going out to await the arrival of the Indian flotillas, because so great is the movement of armed ships in England that no notice whatever is taken of them, and it is only necessary to tell the shipmasters to be at a certain port on such a day for them to go without even their knowing of each other's movements. Some of the best of the Queen's ships are sent thither too, on a pretext of cruising along the coast as they usually do, and thus, without anything being heard of it, twenty or thirty fully armed ships can be sent out to await the flotillas. Your Lordship may be certain that this will be persisted in, unless orders are sent from Spain for the flotillas to be accompanied from the Indies by a good force of armed ships. . . .

30. COMMERCIAL ARGUMENTS FOR MAINTAINING AN ENGLISH AGENT IN TURKEY, 1587-88 (?).

[Trans. R.H.S., Fourth Series, Vol. V., 1922, pp. 16-19.]

The sundry harms ensuing to the realm if the amitie with the Great Turk by reclaiming of the Agent should be given over, without whose residence in that Court there can be neither friendship nor intercourse.

(1) *Imprimis*, the loss of divers ships of Her Majesty's subjects which yearly will be captured as well within as on this side of the Straits, which former times have verified, whose ransomes have cost this realme great sums of money and yet divers by their torture and extreme dealing forced to turn Turk, whereof some made excuses, to the shipwreck of their bodies and souls.

(2) *Item*, the loss of divers ships taken and sunk with their whole lading, of no small value and likely to increase, for that the Turks at this present be more expert in their piracies than ever heretofore, for then they did not use to go out of Algiers . . . till the month of May, whereas now they go out in January,

. . . (being enemies) they will cut off our whole trade into the Straits, which at this present not only we have thither, but also owners of ships and mariners by strangers which do freight English ships. . . .

(3) *Item*, Her Majesty shall lose much by the customs and duties which generally the trade into the Straits do pay her, which shall be well approved to have been in some one year ten thousand pounds at the least, for the Turkey Company have paid for one ship six and twenty hundred pounds, a great part of which commodities were transported hence into other countries, whereby in effect this realm of late years hath served as the only staple to and for other countries as formerly Antwerp did, to the great commodity and setting awork of our people, both for the unlading, relading and transporting thereof.

(4) *Item*, for the voyages into the Straits there be above thirty tall ships builded of late, and if the said trade do surcease, the owners might be suitors to Her Majesty to buy them or otherwise crave leave to sell them out of the realm, for other trade there is none for them. . . .

(5) The commodities Vented within the Straits be all sorts of clothes and kersies dyed and dressed to the best proof, tin, lead, silk, spices, drugs, currants, wines of Candia, cotton-wool and yarn, grograms . . . and divers other things, and now that the peace is made between the Turk and the Persian, there will be much more vent of other said commodities. And where it may be objected that the Venetian will fetch away from us the said commodities, if we vent them not, it will prove contrary, for the Spanish wool usually brought out of Spain into Flanders and there dressed is now carried over to Alicante, a port of Spain within the Straits, and from thence transported into Italy, Venice and those parts, where it is dressed, and whereof in Venice they make so much cloth that the clothiers and drapers of that city did offer at Constantinople to the Viceroy and by other Bashas thirty thousand chequins, which is above ten thousand pounds sterling. . . .

(6) *Item*, experience hath verified that the Venetians, to cut off our ancient trade into the Straits in the time of King Henry VII., did set an impost of four ducats upon every butt of wine

which our nation should lade in their port, for obviating of which discommodity it pleased the King in the seventh year of his reign by act of Parliament[1] to set an impost of 18 *s.* upon every butt they should bring hither, to continue so long and no longer than theirs did, which therefore presently they surceased; and yet not withstanding, for so much as after that the Turk took Scio and other lands within the Archipelago, he drove our nation clean from the said trade, so as for thirty years and more the same was wholly left off and no English ship durst pass into the Straits, till that of late the same hath been removed again and increased much more than ever it was before. And now the said Venetians have set a greater imposition upon English ships lading in their ports, but none upon themselves, so that if the English merchants should pay the same both here and there, the Venetians should bring all their commodities hither a third penny better cheap than we, to their great commodity and the increase of their ships.

(7) *Item*, if this amitie with the Turk being dissolved, might again upon the discommodities be removed [*sic*, ? renewed], the proof might be hazarded with little peril, but for so much as it is most certain that it will not, both for the displeasure he himself in particular will have by calling home the Agent, who is thought of him to be only maintained by Her Majesty, and that rather for causes of estate than of traffic, for which he hath himself out of his own coffers [paid . . .] pounds per year, which he would not do if he knew the contrary, as also for the profit which will ensue to the Viceroy and Bashas by the Venetians, French and other Christian traders thither, who will offer great rewards to keep us out, and in like manner the Admiral, for his duty of the tenth part of all prizes of the spoil of our ships and men.

(8) *Item*, the great charges that have been defrayed by the traders into Turkey, finding out and continuing the said trade unto this day, namely; the first present, the charge of the Ambassador, and placing of consuls in Scio, Patras, Tripoli, Aleppo, Alexandria and Algier, which may amount to above thirty thousand pounds sterling . . . which is utterly lost if the same trade be given over.

[1] Henry VII., c. 7.

(9) *Item*, the trade into Turkey is had in great price with all nations, especially the Venetian, and French King who . . . maintaineth an ambassador at Constantinople at his own cost and charge, and both the Spaniard and Florentine have sought the same with great charge and could never to this day obtain it.

(10) *Item*, lastly it would be much marvelled at of all nations that we, such trade being so profitable, . . . should so suddenly give over the same, which will be thought to be either lost for fear of the Spaniards or else that Her Majesty doth it in respect of the charge of her Agent there, and so diversely spoken of that other nations may consider the great commodity that this realm enjoyeth by the said Amitie, especially in that we are favoured in Turkey more than any other nation whatsoever. Nevertheless according to our duties we content ourselves with Her Majesty's determination . . . and so craving pardon do thereunto humbly submit ourselves.

31. CONTRABAND TRADE BETWEEN ENGLAND AND SPAIN, 1593.

[English Merchants and the Spanish Inquisition in the Canaries, Ed. L. de Aberti and A. B. Wallis Chapman (Roy. Hist. Soc., 1912), pp. 64-74.]

In Canary, 14th Dec., 1593.

[Barthw. Cole] said that, continuing that which he had commenced to relate in the audience of yesterday afternoon, respecting information which might be of importance to his Majesty's service, he declares that from all parts of the Kingdom of England, and principally from London, Bristol, and Southamption, great quantities of merchandise are sent to Spain, chiefly to Seville. And that in order to ensure their safe dispatch they avail themselves of the assistance of various peoples such as Flemings, Germans, Scotch and Bretons in the following manner; by sending the said merchandise to Hamburg in Germany, or to the town of Estod [Stade] also in Germany about six leagues from Hamburg, where a fleet goes every year for this purpose, composed of twenty, twenty-five and thirty ships loaded with various merchandise, such as London cloth, some white, others mixed, white kerseys and baizes, and also

white says. And the Englishmen to whom this merchandise belongs have their factors in the said towns, both Englishmen and Flemings, who receive and distribute it among various towns both in Italy and Spain, and more usually Seville as far as this confessant knows. And the cloth and other white materials are dyed in these said towns, and are dispatched as Flemish goods, and in this way they are, and have been, dispatched since trade and commerce with England were prohibited, and since trade in English stuffs was prohibited. And this confessant understands that at this present day this continues, and the merchants in Spain, who are Flemings, receive these goods knowing as they do that they come from England, and correspond with Englishmen in London. And from other parts of Spain the said Flemish merchants dispatch such merchandise as the English usually get from Spain, such as oils, wines from Xerez, raisins, almonds, and other things; and the said ships bring their cargoes sometimes to the said towns of Germany, and sometimes to London and other towns of England. And sometimes Englishmen seize the said Flemish ships at sea on the ground that they carry Spanish merchandise, and on arriving in England they find that the said merchandise belongs to Englishmen, or Flemish residents of London, both the one and the other being heretics from what this confessant knows and can judge of them. And this merchandise is given to them, and the Englishmen who took them at sea have their trouble for nothing, all of which is known to this confessant because he has heard of it in London, and discussed it very fully, especially with a certain rich English merchant residing in London, who is called Artor Jase [Arthur Hussey?], and with his servant, for whom this confessant had great friendship. And the reason this confessant knows of this and treated of the matter so fully is that he was negotiating with the said merchant to form a company to trade with Seville and the Terceira Isles, which are called the Azores; and the said company was not then formed, because this confessant was on the point of sailing for these islands when it was spoken of, and it was agreed that he should inquire into the means afforded by the islands, and the profit to be gained in them, and the quantities and species of merchandise

which would be needed, which having done he should return to England where the said company would be formed; and this confessant would then go to reside in Seville to carry out the plan, as a person who, having been brought up in San Miguel, would be taken for a native of that place; but as he was arrested the matter fell through.

And as this confessant did not form his company at the time of which he speaks, he did not hear the names of the merchants of Sevile and other towns of Spain, who carry on the said trade and commerce with the English in the manner referred to, but they may easily be discovered by the merchandise itself, because all the kerseys are English dyed in Flanders, where they are folded differently and a different stamp put on them, and the same is done with the anascotes [says], as very few come from Anascote [?] in Flanders, which is a small town. And no attention need be paid to the stamps, as they are stamped in England with Anascote stamps, and the baize can also be known, and although these were formerly woven in Flanders, they are now woven in England by Flemings of whom there are great numbers residing in the different towns; and this baize is really made in England with wool of that country. And cloths and woollen stuffs can also be known, and the greater part of them also comes from England, from what this confessant gathers, and a large number of tapestries are also made in England by the said Flemings, and are sent to Spain in the same way, from what this confessant understands. And if this confessant had been as well advised, and had had the same motives then as he has now, he would know the names of the Flemish merchants residing in Spain, but as it was of no interest to him he did not trouble about it. And similar merchandise and other kinds are sent into Spain through St. Malo, Roscoff and Morlaix in Brittany, as many English ships frequent these towns bringing cargoes of the said stuffs which they sell there; and the Bretons send them to Spain. . . .

And besides those ships which this confessant has mentioned as coming to the Island of San Miguel claiming to be Scotch, whereas they were from England, and their cargo also, others have put in there as well, although he cannot remember details

of them; and confessant knows that the said Scotch ships also go to Spain under the same pretence; . . . and he knows that the said Scotch carry passports from the King of Scotland; . . . and confessant cannot say whether these are forged or not, but he thinks that they may be, because any stamps needed can without difficulty be made in England, and this confessant has made a certain number with which he stamped the stuffs and merchandise he brought with him; and he knows that the merchants who trade in this way with Spain have French, Scotch and Flemish stamps, with which they stamp their merchandise. And therefore no importance need be attached to the said passports, because even though they may really have been given by the King of Scotland, they are so easily obtained that they would be given for any bribe, and in any case the merchandise is not what it is stated to be.

32. THE BEGINNINGS OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY, 1599-1601.

[H. Stevens, The Dawn of British Trade to the East Indies as recorded in the Court Minutes of the East India Company 1599-1603 (1886), pp. 4-9, 109-111.]

An assembly of the persons heervnder named holden the xxiiijth of September 1599.

[Fifty-seven names.]

Whereas the severall persons abovenamed together with divers others whose names ar Regestred in the begynnynge of this booke, by the suffraunce of almightie god after Royall assent of our Soveraigne Lady the Queenes most excellent Maiestie first therunto had and obteyned, do entend for the honor of our native Cuntrey and for thadvauncement of trade of merchaundize within this Realme of England vppon ther severall adventures accordinge to the severall proportions of the sommes of money by them severally sett downe and inregestred vnder ther owne handes, To set forthe a vyage this present yere to the Est Indies and other the Ilandes and Cuntries theraboutes, and ther to make trade by the sale of suche commodities as vppon further deliberation shalbe resolved to be provided for these partes or otherwyse by buying or barteringe of suche goodes wares jewelles or

merchaundize as those Ilandes or Cuntries may yeld or afforthe; And for the better ordering and disposinge of the said viage intended and for thencoragement of all suche as have already determined to adventure in the same or shall before the viage set forthe determine to adventure therein, They have thought it meete to direct them selfes by certen Rules and orders to be holden and observed, aswell in the preparinge of suche shippinge as shalbe thought fitt for this enterprice, as of all other provision of wares merchandize bullion and suche other thinges as are to be provided and adventured in the same. And therfore at this assemblie it is agreed ordeyned and resolved as followeth.

First that noe ship shalbe receavid to be brought in by any adventuror in this viage to be imployed in the same as his stock or portion of adventure at any rate whatsoever.

Also that all shippinge to be imploied in this viage shalbe bought and provided by suche as shalbe therto appointed for ready money onlie.

That noe commoditie shalbe accepted in the said viage to be brought in as any mans portion of adventure, but that all goodes wares and other thinges shalbe bought and prepared by suche as shalbe thervnto appointed as Comitties and directors of the said viage, for the buyinge and providinge of shippinge and merchaundize.

And this assemblie do electe nominate and appoint these fifteene persons heervnder named Comitties or directors of this viage, to manage order and direct the affaires belonginge to the same, aswell concerning sewte to be made to her maiestie for sole priviledge to be graunted to these adventurors for soe manie yeres as can be obteyned and for such ymmunyties and freedomes of Custome and other tollerations and favors as may be gotten, as also for the providing for shippinge wares and merchaundize to be adventured in the said viage, Ratefyinge and allowing whatsoever the said Comitties or directors of the said viage or the greater number of them shall do or agree vppon in the premisses, provided nevertheles that no factor or other officer to be imployid in the viage shalbe admitted or appointed therto but by a generall Assemblie of the adventurours and ther elected by the consent of the greater number of them [elected] assembled. . . .

And the said Assemblie have chosen for ther Threasorers for the receavinge and payinge of the moneys imploied in the same Mr. John Highlord and mr Wm Romney vnto whose handes the contributions of everie severall adventuror in the viage is to be brought in at two severall paymentes, videlicet the first payment by the [*blank*] of November and the seconde payment by the [*blank*] of December.

It is resolued at this assemblie that from henceforth no adventuror in this viage shalbe received to adventure in the same for a lesse somme then 200 *li*.

And it is generallie agreed that ther shalbe brought in to the handes of the Threasorers withall expedition, for the defrayinge of some present pettie charges that shall be expended in the affaires of the said viage, xij *d*. vppon everie C*li* sett downe and to be sett downe vppon every mans portion of adventure, to be collected by him that warneth the adventurors to ther assemblies or otherwyse to be brought in by them selves to the Threasorers.

At an assemblie of the Comitties or the directors of the viage the xxvth of September 1599.

[Twelve names.]

Thes Committies to whom the direction of the affaires of the viage is comitted beinge assembled together doe devide the present busines of the said viage, to be followed and solicited by some of them at the Courte for the obteyninge of a priviledge and other liberties and freedomes, therto belonginge, and by some of them in surveyinge and seekinge out of suche shippinge as is thought meet for the viage, to which severall imployments the said persons by mutuall assent have agreed to vse ther travell, videlicet:

to solicite the lords of the Councell [8 names]

to seek for shippes [7 names]

And it is resolued that a petition shalbe exhibited to the Lords of her maiesties most honorable privy Counsell in the name of the adventurour[s] showing ther honors that divers merchauntes, induced by the successe of the viage performed by the Duche nation and beinge informed that the duchemen prepare for a newe viage and to that ende have bought divers ships heere

in England, were stirred vp with noe lesse affection to advaunce the trade of ther native Cuntrey then the duche merchauntes were to benefite ther comon wealthe, and vppon that affection have resolved to make a viage to the est Indias, yf her maiestie wilbe pleased to add to ther entention the better to performe the enterprise these severall petitions or Requestes followinge, videlicet:

To graunt to the adventures a priviledge in succession and to incorporate them in a Companie, for that the trade of the Indias beinge so farre remote from hence cannot be traded but in a Joint and a vnyted stock.

That the shippinge of the adventurors beinge prepared for ther viages be not staied vppon anie pretence of [anie] service, for that the stay of one moneth loseth the opportunetie of a whole yeres viage.

That it may be lawfull for the adventurours anie Statute notwithstandinge to sende out forrein Coyne, and yf ther shalbe a want of forrein Coyne to furnishe this present viage that ther may be quyned in her maiesties mynt so muche forrein quyne as shall supply the want, out of such bullyon or plate as shalbe brought in by the adventurors or by ther meanes.

That freedome of Custome be humblie requirid for all suche goodes as are carried out in 6 viages, the rather for that many experimentes are to be made before the Cuntrey shalbe fitted with marchaundize vendible ther, and for that also the Duche merchauntes for ther better encoragement are freed for divers yeres bothe of Custome outward and inwarde.

. . . . . .

A generall Court holdene the 9 *of Januarie* 1600 [1601] *in the presence of* [*seventeen names*] *And the greater part of the generalyty.*

. . . This Court was informed that the comon adventure sett downe for the voyage falleth out too short by the somme of fowre or five thousand poundes, of that which shall be necessarie to be sett forth, considering the great preparation of the Ductche which are ready to goe to the same places of the East Indies to which our voyage is directed, and that also some of the adventurers which have sett downe ther contributions have brought in noe

part thereof and other some do defaulte of that which they sett downe, alledging that [they] will not adventure so much as they sett downe at the first, by which meanes the adventure will fall short of that which is necessarie to be [still further] adventured to make a good voyage by the some of eight or nyne thowsand poundes in the whole, vppone which information this Court fallinge into the deliberation howe in best sort they may supply this present want, It was agreed therfore by this generall Court for the advancement of this voyage and for the avoyding of the preiudice that may happen by the want of a convenient proportion of adventure [for this present voyage enterprise], and that by the generall assent of this assemblie and establyshed as a Lawe Warraunted by the said lettres Pattentes, that for the present dispatche away of the shippes and the full augmentation of the Stocke and adventure to be sett forthe, ther shalbe enlarged by every contributor accordinge to the proportion of his adventure ij^{s}. vppon the pounde, with this Cawtion notwithstanding that yf the full adventure can be otherwyse supplied by any voluntary enlargement of mens voluntary encrease of ther adventures and by the vrging of those that are behinde with all or part of the adventures to bring them in according to that which they have sett downe, that then all the overplus which shalbe brought in by the enlargement of ij^{s}. the pound, shalbe proportionally restored backe againe to the Contributors and be vsed the meane tyme as money lent. And it is also ordered that a present information and Complaint shalbe made to the Lords of the Councell of suche as have disapointed the preparation of the voyage, that they may be called before ther Lordshippes to receave suche order as to ther honors shalbe thought meet. And to thende that this order and decree agreed vppon may be executed with all spede, the said rate of ij^{s}. the *li.* shalbe brought in by everie adventuror according to his proportion by the 15 . of this moneth, vppon payne of forfeyture of Double the valewe to be Levied vppon them accordinge to the aucthoritie of the [said] graunt of priviledges before mencioned, provided all waies and it is agreed that yf any man shalbe willinge voluntaryly to encrease his adventure already sett downe above the rate of ij^{s}. the *li.*, that then he shall not be within the Compas of this acte of enlargement of ij^{s}. the *li.* by way of Lone.

At this Court accordinge to the warraunt geaven to the Companie for the election of the deputie to the Governor of the same, they have proceaded to the election of the said deputie and by generall consent have nominated and chosen Mr William Rumney to execute the same office.

And for the better expedition of the setting forthe of the shippes on ther voyage, and for the redresse of the wronge which suche as have not brought in ther moneis have offered to the voyage, order is geaven that mr governor and Comitties shall apoint suche as they thinke meete to goe to the Court to exhibite ther information and Complaint to the Lordes.

33. COMPLAINT OF THE JOINT STOCK MONOPOLY OF THE MUSCOVY COMPANY, 1604.

[From the Instructions touching the Bill for free Trade, in Journals of the House of Commons, Vol. I., p. 220.]

The Muscovie Company, consisting of eight-score or thereabouts, have Fifteen Directors, who manage the whole Trade; these limit to every Man the Proportion of Stock which he shall trade for, make One Purse and Stock of all, and consign it into the Hands of One Agent at Musco, and so again, at their Return, to One Agent at London, who sell all, and give such Account as they please. This is a strong and a shameful Monopoly; a Monopoly in a Monopoly; both abroad and at home; a whole Company, by this Means, is become as One Man, who alone hath the Uttering of all the Commodities of so great a Country. The Inconveniences which have ensued thereof are Three apparent.

First, by this means they vent less of our Commodities; for by reason of the One Agent, they vent all through his Hands; by which means the Hollanders have come in between us; who, trading thither in several with our own English Commodities (which are most proper for that Country) utter much more than our own Merchants, and make quicker Return; which hath occasioned many Englishmen to join in Trade with the Hollanders, to the Detriment of the King's Majesty in his Customs: And by this Means that Trade is like utterly to decay; for the

Hollanders have grown in short time from Two Ships to above Twenty; this Spring they are gone to Muscovie with near Thirty Ships, and our Men but with Seven. The like fell out in the Turkie Company, when they constrained Men to a joint Stock; since the Breaking of which Combination there go Four Ships for One.

Secondly, in their Return with Muscovie Commodities, they greatly prejudice the Commonwealth and State. Example in Cordage, which they bring home in such Scarcity and sell so dearly, as that they have raised it in short Time from Twenty to Thirty Shillings; yea, to sell their Ware dear, they have contracted with the Buyer, not to bring any more of that Commodity within Three Years after.

Thirdly, this is hurtful to all the young Merchants of their own Company, who cannot forbear their Stock so long as now they do, and desire to employ their own Industry in managing it, and having oftentimes been all damnified by the Breaking of that general Factor.

SECTION II.—SHIPPING.

1. HENRY VIII.'S CHARTER TO TRINITY HOUSE, 1514.

[From the exemplification by George II., printed in J. Cotton, Memoir on the Origin and Incorporation of the Trinity House of Deptford Strond (1818), App. I., pp. 161-165.]

The King to all to whom, etc., greeting. Know ye, That we, of our especial grace, and on account of the sincere and entire love, and likewise devotion, which we bear and have towards the most glorious and undividable Trinity, and also to Saint Clement the Confessor, have granted and given licence for us and our heirs, as much as in us is, to our beloved liege people and subjects, the shipmen or mariners of this our realm of England, that they or their heirs, to the praise and honour of the said most glorious and undividable Trinity and St. Clement, may of new begin, erect, create, ordain, found, unite, and establish a certain Guild or perpetual Fraternity of themselves, and other persons whatsoever, as well men as women, in the parish church of Deptford-Strond, in our county of Kent. And that the said Guild or Fraternity, so begun, erected, created, ordained, founded, united and established, be one body and perpetual community, and that the said Guild or Fraternity be called the Guild or Fraternity of the most glorious and undividable Trinity of Saint Clement: and that the Brethren of that Guild or Fraternity, and their successors, shall and may be able, every year, of themselves to elect, ordain and successively constitute one Master, four Wardens, and eight Assistants to the same Master and Wardens, to govern and oversee the said Guild or Fraternity, and also to have the government and custody of all the lands, tenements, rents, possessions, goods and chattels, which from thenceforth shall happen to be purchased, given, devised, granted, or assigned

to the said Guild or Fraternity, and to remove, expel and discharge the same Master, Wardens and Assistants, and any of them, from time to time (as they need, or occasion shall require), and to put, appoint, and substitute other Master, Warden or Wardens, and Assistant, or Assistants, in his or their name, or names, or places so removed, expelled and discharged, as often and when to them shall seem meet. And moreover, we have granted for us and our heirs aforesaid, That the aforesaid Master, Wardens, and Assistants, and their successors, may admit and accept whatsoever persons our natural subjects only to be born within this our realm of England, and other places under our allegiance, and not others, which would be of the Guild or Fraternity aforesaid, as brethren and sisters of the said Guild or Fraternity. And that they may have amongst themselves one common seal to serve and seal for the business and occasions of the said Guild or Fraternity. And that the said Master, Wardens, and Assistants, and their successors, shall be persons able and capable in law, so that they may plead and be impleaded, answer and be answered unto, in whatsoever our courts of us and our heirs, and before whatsoever justices or judges, temporal or spiritual, in whatsoever actions, suits, plaints, pleas, causes, and demands, of whatsoever kind or nature, concerning or touching the said Guild or Fraternity, by the name of one Master, four Wardens, and eight Assistants of the Guild or Fraternity of the most glorious and undividable Trinity and St. Clement, in the parish church of Deptford-Strond aforesaid; and that the said Master, Wardens, and Assistants, and the Brethren and Sisters aforesaid, and their successors, may meet at days, places and times, as often and when they please to communicate, treat and conclude amongst themselves, and with other persons, of and upon the conservation, good state, and sound government of the Guild or Fraternity aforesaid, and also of the Brethren and Sisters of the same, and of and upon all and singular articles anywise concerning the science or art of mariners; and that they may have power and authority for ever of granting and making laws, ordinances, and statutes amongst themselves, for the relief, increase, and augmentation of the shipping of this our realm of

England. All which laws, ordinances, and statutes, those offending to punish and chastise at their discretions, according to the quantity of the offence, and to demand and gather the pains, subsidies, amercements, and forfeitures in the same laws, ordinances, and statutes ordained and specified of the said offenders, and any of them, and to distrain and arrest for the same (if need be) such offenders, as well by their goods and ships, as by their bodies, as the case requires, according to the laws and customs of this our realm of England, or our Court of Admiralty. And also to levy, receive, and recover such pains, subsidies, amercements, and forfeitures, to the use of the Guild or Fraternity aforesaid, and so (*toties quoties*) in future times to continue for ever. And further, of our said more abundant grace, we have granted and given licence for us and our heirs aforesaid, to the aforesaid Master, Wardens, and Assistants, that they and their successors may acquire lands, tenements and rents, to the value of twenty marks a year beyond reprizes, which are not holden of us in chief, to have and to hold to them and their successors for ever; therewith to find one chaplain to celebrate divine services in the aforesaid church for ever, for the safe estate of us, and of our most dear consort Catherine, queen of England and France, while we shall live, and for our souls when we shall depart from this life, and also for the souls of all our progenitors deceased, and also for the safe estate of the Brethren and Sisters of the said Guild or Fraternity while they shall live, and for their souls when they shall depart from this life, and for the souls of all the faithful deceased, and to do and perform other works of piety there, the statute of mortmain notwithstanding. And further, of our aforesaid grace, we have granted, and by these presents do grant, for us and our said heirs, as much as in us is, to our said liege people and subjects, that they may have and enjoy all and singular the liberties, franchises and privileges, which their predecessors the shipmen or mariners of this our realm of England ever had, used or enjoyed. And also that they may have and hold to them, and their successors, all the lands and tenements which they now have in Deptford-Strond aforesaid, of the gift or grant of whatsoever person or persons; forbidding

that the same our liege people and subjects, or their successors aforesaid, or the aforesaid Master, Wardens, and Assistants, elected, ordained, and appointed in manner and form aforesaid, or their successors, be by us, or our heirs aforesaid, justices, escheators, sheriffs, coroners, or other bailiffs or ministers whatsoever of us or our said heirs, from henceforth at any time or times hereafter, molested, impeached, vexed, troubled, disquieted or in anywise aggrieved. In witness whereof, &c. Witness the King at Westminster the 20th May.

By the King and of the date, &c.

2. 'AN ACTE FOR THE MAYNTENAUNCE OF THE NAVYE' (32 HENRY VIII. C. 14), 1540.

[Stats. of the Realm, Vol. III., p. 760.]

I. FORASMUCHE as it is evidently and notoriously knowen that the more parte of this our souveraine lorde the Kinges realme of Inglaund and the confynes and dominions of the same is and ben compassed and invironed by and with the grete sees, so that neither the kinges liege people and subjectis of this his said realme nor yet anny other of anny foren realmes or Countries can or may convey or transporte their Wares, goodis, marchaundises and commodities into and from the said realme by over alongest the said sees but onely by shippes, And where the Navy or multitude of Shippes of this realme in tymes past hath ben and yet is verie profitable, requisite, necessarie and commodiouse, aswell for the entercourse and concurse of marchauntis transporting and conveying their wares and marchaundises as is above said, and a greate defence and suerty of this realme in tyme of warre as well to offend as defende, and also the mayntenance of many maisters, maryners and see men, making them expert and connyng in the arte and science of shippmen and sayling, and they, their wifes and children have had their lyvinges of and by the same, and also hathe ben the chief mayntenance and supportacion of the Cities, Townes, villages, havens and creekis nere adjoyning unto the see costes, and the Kinges subjectis, bakers, bruers, butchers, smythes, ropers, shipwrittes, taillours, showe makers and other vitallers

and handycraftis men inhabiting and dwelling nere unto the said coostis have also had by the same a greate parte of their lyvinges; and the same Navy and multitude of Shippes is nowe of late marvailously appaired and decayed, and by occasion therof not only a greate multitude of the Kinges liege people whiche thereby had their lyving be nowe mynyshed and empoverishid, but also the townes, villages and inhabitations nere adioyning unto the see costis ben utterly fallen in ruyne and decay; For reformation wherof it was ordeyned and enacted by a Statute[1] made in the fifte yere of the reigne of the right noble King Richard the second that none of the Kinges liege people shuld shipp marchandise in any other shipp than in an english shippe upon payne of forfaicture of the said Marchandise so shipped; And after that by one other estatute[2] made in the vjth yere of the said most noble King it was enacted that for defaulte of english shippes every man might shipp their marchandises in straungiers shippes; And after that at a parliament holden at Westminster the iiijth yere of the late noble King of famouse memorie King Henry the vijth it was ordeyned and enacted[3] that no personne shuld carrie or bringe any Wynes of Gascoigne and Guyen or Tholose Wode into Englaund, Wales, Irelaund, Calais or the marches therof, or Barwike, but onely in shippes of England, Wales, Irelaund, Calais or marches therof, or Barwike, and that the maister and maryners of the same shippes or the most parte of them shulde be of the same Countries uppon payne of forfaicture of the same wyne and Wadde; And after that at a parliament holden at Westminster the xvth day of Januarie in the xxiij yere of the moste noble Reigne of our nowe souveraine lord the Kinge Henry theight it was ordeyned and enacted[4] that the said estatutis and every thing in them conteyned shulde stand in their full streignth, force and effect. . . . Yet notwithstanding divers and sondrie persones, not regarding the mayntenaunce of the said Navy nor yet the commodities and profittes comming and growing unto this Realm by occasion of the same, for their owne singulier lucre and advauntage have not feared nor dredde to offend the said

[1] 5 Rich. II., St. 1, c. 3.
[2] 6 Rich. II., St. 1, c. 8.
[3] 4 Hen. VII., c. 10.
[4] 23 Hen. VII., c.

lawes and good ordenaunces; Wherefore [it is enacted that the said statutes shall continue in full force].

II. [Fixes the freights to be charged by owners, masters, etc., of English ships, sailing to and from the port of London and Flanders, Dantzig, Bordeaux, Biscay, Portugal, Spain and various Mediterranean ports, for a large number of commodities.]

III. [No owner, etc., to take any higher freight than as above fixed, on penalty of forfeiting double the amount so taken, one half to go to the King, one half to the person sueing for the same.]

IV. [The rates of freight, etc., in this Act do not extend to any port in the realm except London.]

V. [In time of war owners of ships may receive higher freight, as may be agreed upon with merchants, to recompense them for increased costs of victualling, manning and defending their ships.]

VI. [Owners, etc., may take less than the fixed rates.]

VII. [Refers to the recent Proclamation permitting aliens to import and export goods on payment of the same customs as natives. Grievous complaints have been received that strangers daily convey goods out of the realm in foreign ships in large numbers, to the detriment of the navy. It is therefore enacted that from henceforth goods exported by aliens in foreign ships shall pay aliens' customs. Provided that if there be no English vessels at the port of lading aliens may ship in foreign vessels on obtaining a certificate from the Lord High Admiral or the customer and comptroller of the port that no English ship is available.]

VIII. [Shipowners shall give public notice in Lombard Street of the sailing of their ships six days before departure, so that merchants may prepare their wares.]

IX. [Owners, etc., shall as far as is in their power see that all wares entrusted to them are kept honestly and in good order.]

X. [Any merchant, etc., finding himself aggrieved by negligent keeping of his wares or delay in sailing (through causes other than wind or weather) may complain to the Lord Admiral or his deputy who may give summary relief.]

XI. [This Act shall not give any liberty to any alien in the conveying of wools or fells out of the realm, or for any longer time than is fixed in the Proclamation.]

3. AN ORDER TO APPREHEND ENGLISH PIRATES WHO HAVE PLUNDERED A SPANISH VESSEL, 1547.

[Acts of the Privy Council, Vol. I., pp. 436-37.]

To all Mayours, Shireves, Bayllives, Hedburghs, &c., commaundement was gyven in this sorte; Wheras complaint hath ben made to the Kinges Majestie by Anthony Bouvixi, Antony de Mazuelo and Anthony de Guarras, merchauntes straungers, aswell in their owne names as in the names of all other the laders of a Spanisshe ship named the Trinitie (the master Jonn del Campo), which ship in followeng of her voyage from Hampton, where she was laden, towardes Spayne, was sondrye tymes upon divers costes of this Realme robbed and spoyled of more then three partes of her ladeng by sondry Englisshemen, adventurers upon the see, as by a cedule annexed herunto and presented unto us by the said complaynantes, expressing aswell the markes of the goodes, as also somme of the spoylers names, it may playnelier appere unto you; his Highnes takeng that notable piracie and disorder in most grevous parte, and ernestly tendring the redresse of the same to the releef of the merchauntes, owners of the said goodes, hath therfore willed us on his Majestes behalf to require and straightlie charge all and every of you aswell to be aydeng and assisting to this berer, Pedro de Villa Nova, Spaniarde, for thapprehencion of asmany of the said pirates as within the lymittes of your office ar at any tyme to be founde, as also to seasse their goodes and asmoch of the said wares as were by them soo spoyled, in whose handes soever the same shall remayne, being marked with any of the markes in the margent of thaforesaid scedule conteyned, putting the said goodes in sauf custodie and retayneng the bodyes of them with whome they shalbe founde in suretie, or at the least takeng sufficient sureties for their forthecommyng. And of your procedinges herin his Majestie willeth you by your letters taddresse us, wheruppon ye may receve such further direction

from us as in that behalf shall apperteyne accordingly. From Grenewiche, the xxvijth of May in the xxxviijth yere of the reigne of our Soveraigne Lord King Henry theight.

4. THOMAS BARNABE, MERCHANT, TO CECIL ON THE INCREASE OF SHIPPING AND OTHER MATTERS, 1552.

[J. Strype, Ecclesiastical Memorials (1822 ed.), Vol. II., Pt. II., pp. 491-98, also printed in H. Ellis, Original Letters illustrative of English History, 2nd series, Vol. II. (1827), pp. 195-206.]

To the right honorable and his special good master Sir William Cecyl, secretary to the Kings Majesty,

After my most humbliest commendacions unto your mastership, yt shal please you to be advertysed, that I have been of late with the commyssioners of Fraunce, that be here com, the which is Monsr. Aubery, lieutenant civil of Parys, and Monsr. du Val, advocate for the King, of Newhaven, Homfleut, and Harfleut; the which be right honest gentlemen, and speke wel, and say that they are not alonely sent to common with us, as the people maketh report of them, but to make restitution. And one of them also said unto me, that our people be very desirous here to have war with them, and that we should not fynd the realm of Fraunce after the sort that we did for sixscore yeres agone, when we did conquere yt. For he said, that then the Duke of Normandy, and the Duke of Brytayne, and the Duke of Burgoigne, were al three agaynst the French King, and now yt is knytt al to one realm: and that we may se what great hurt we have don them with the warrs that my Lord of Northfolk and my Lord of Suffolk, and the Kings Majesty have don, and what towne we can show that we do hold: but only have spent out al our riches, and destroyed a great nombre of subjects, and left al our mony in Flanders, Heynou, and Artous, to the utter destruction of our realm. The which I answered hym agayn to my simple witt, that I have had as moch experience in France, or in those parties, as moch as any man in the realm of England, and was marryed there for xxxviii yeres agone: and since I have had save conduits of the Kings Majesty, wherupon hath

growen great suits, and to my utter undoing. So that I dare be bold to say, that there is never a porte, haven, or bay, betwene Bouloigne and Bourdeaulx, but I know hym. And as for the realm of France besyde, I ought to know yt; for I have been xxviii viages in France in post for the Kings Majesty, and contynuallie there al the while that my Lord of Winchester and Master Wallop were there; and likewise by my Lord of London and my Lord Pachetts days. And somewhat I gathered there amongst them: for I think there were few men that was sent so many tymes to the Council privily for by-matters as I was: for the embassadours went never to the Corte but for the Kings privy affaires, but always yt was my chance to be sent for every mans matters. Wherefore there was nother the chancellor, nor the cardynal of Lorrayne, nor the cardinal of Parys, nor the admyral, nor the cunstable, which hath continewed longest in favor, but I have knowen them al.

And as for the constable, somewhat I can say of hym. I think he be one of the doblest and dissemblingst gentlemen that is in the world: for there is no more assurance of his word, than to hold an ele by the tayle; but wil speke fair, and promise fair, and work the contrary. And besyde al this, I promise you of my fayth, he is as popish as I am English, and always hath been: for the which my Lord of Winchester nor Mr. Wallop did not hate hym. For I do know yt, for I was sent divers viages by my Lord Crumwel, and perceived how the matter went: for the which they sayd both of them, that I was my Lord Crumwel's spy; and so I am assured that they told the cunstable one day. But I cared not, for I had the king my masters procedings hanging in myne eyes, and as Paul sayeth, I am that I am.

God knoweth my poor hart, how moch I do tender the wealth and prosperitie of myne own nation, and that I am sory, from the bottom of my hart, to think that they of France accept us to be gross-natured people and covetous. And they have sayed unto me or now, that yf wee had never so rank or malicious war with them, they know how to buy us for mony: the which methinketh were a strange thing. Howbeyt that was seen by my Lord Cardynals days; for he hymself toke iiii hundreth thousand

crownes to make peace betwene the Frenchmen and us: the which then was not a lyttel spoken of in France.

I would wishe to God, that we did know our own strength and power, and what portes, bayes, and havens we have, that other realms have not. It is not unknown but in al France be barred havens, and yet by reason that they maintain their fishing and their theving, there is more maryners in one towne there, then is here from the lands end to S. Michels mount. I have sene come out at one tyde in Diep five hundred and five botes, and in every bote ten or twelve men: the which was a marvelous matter to se how they be maintayned by fyshing, and what riches they get by the sea, and how they mayntain their towns and ports. And as for us, let us begin at Sandwich and go to Dover, Hyde, and Hastings, and to Winchelsea, and se how they go down for lack of maintenance, and in a maner no mariners in them: which is for lack of good policy to set them a work. Which, Sir, yf yt please the Councel to understand those things that I wil show you, they shal set 6 or 7000 maryners a work more than there is, in that thing that France can lyve no more without than the fysh without water; that is to say, Newcastle coals, which without that they can neither make stele-work, or metal-work, nor wyer-work, nor goldsmith-work, nor gunns, nor no maner of thing that passeth the fier. And as for them, ye shal se in peace tyme iii or iiii score ships of Normans and Brytons at ones, as soon as theyr fishing is don; and as they be departed cometh as many moe. So that I, occupying save-conduit in France, have bought coles at Newcastle for two shillings and two pence a chauldron, and for thirteen nobles have sold them again in France. Also the vice-admiral of Normandy, Monsr. Du May, and the Vicounte of Diep, have prayed me to bring in Newcastle coles, and I should have any other maner of commodyte that they had within the realm, whether yt were poldavis for saylis, or any other thing.

Now may you se what a commodyte is this smal thing to this realm. So that me semeth, yf the Kings Majesty would take in these coles into his own hands, and let no other ships but English ships fetch them at Newcastel, and so to bring them into Kent, and make a staple in such place as should be thought

necessary, you should not onely set a wonderful sort of maryners a work, but also yt shal be a great strength to the realm, and specially to the cuntry of Kent; the which is very lene of men by the sea syde, consydering the premysses aforesayd of the going down of the towns. Also it is not unknowen but that the French King hath taken the salt into his own hands, and hath gruntiers in every town to sel yt to his profyt. Now may you way, that the one ys vittayll, and the other is fuel; also, it is but reason we should avance our own commodyte as wel as they do theyrs, to maintain our own subjects with al. Also I would wysh that there should nother fuel nor vittayl go out of the realm, but upon English bottomes.

Moreover, I have sene go out at one tyde out of Rye, together, 37 hoyes laden with wood and tymber, and never an English maryner amongst them; which is a wonderful discommodyte to this realm. I have great mervail that these things have bene so long forgotten, which is so necessary a thing to be spoken of.

And now, Sir, I pray you, speke we of the city of London. There be so many notable merchants and rich halls of lands. Some may spend viii hondred pound, some vi hondred, some less and some more; and a great revenue come to them yerely for quartrages and forfeits, which riseth to no smal som; and nothing don withal, but make great feasts every month or six weeks at their halls, and cause vittayls to be dere. But yt might be torned to a more honorable use. Also, yt would be a great mayntaining to the Kings subjects, for every craft to have a ship to cary their merchandizes to and fro, to the great avancement of the Kings honor, and to their own commodytes. And yf chance should fal, which God forbyd, that a ship should be lost, the halls might easily bear the smarts thereof. I think there is never a city in Christendom, having the occupying that this city hath, that is so slenderly provided of ships, havyng the sea comyng to yt, as this hath.

I have hard of late moch complaining for English ships to lade goods into Spayn and other places, and there is none to be hadd. Yf this thing hadd ben thought on in tyme, happily this worly borly of our ships shold not have chanced: for the French men do alledge, that that was the Spanyards goods, and other of

the Emperors subjects. Wherefore I pray God, that this matter may be loked upon in tyme to come.

Now I come to your mastership with another matter. Yf so be yt, that we should war with them, (as God defend, for there is no man of God but he wil seek peace), I know a town in Normandy,[1] which yf yt were ours, we should kepe France and Normandy subject. Is yt possible to be beleved? Yea, as sure as the living God lyveth, I have known within this xxxviii yere, there was but three houses, two houses to lay cables and ancres in, and the other a vittailing house: and at this present day I think there be three thousand. It is now a second Roan, and it is the very gulph, gullet, and mouth of the sea, and a make-peace, yf we had yt. Yt is al the French Kings joy, and he calleth the maryners of that town *his* maryners, *his* pylots, and *his* theves. They be maintayned, and take of us, of the Portungales, and of the Spanyards. Al is fysh that cometh to net; they wil have a pece of every man. Now, Sir, whereas the chefe of the French Kings revenue is levelled upon salt, as aforesaid, yet can yt not be brought into France nor Normandy, but it must come in danger of that town: for the canel lieth of that syde of the land betwene Polhed and that haven. Nother no merchandizes out of what realm soever yt cometh, but yt must go by that way. And also there can nothing come out of France, nother wyne of Ansurois, nor wyne of Bayon, nor wyne of Orleans, nor wyne of Parys, nor any other merchandizes, that is made in Parys or Roan, to go to any other realm, being caryed by water, but yt must nedes pas that way; nother no army, that the French King can send to Scotland, nor to vittayl his army to the sea, but it is al set forth there. I cannot tel what I should write more of yt, for it is so commodious. There was one of the wittiest hedds in al Christendom of a merchant, which showed me ones standing there together, that we neded non other rod to scourge Normandy and France, but only that, yf we had yt. And I showed the same to my Lord Crumwel, and he sent me thither upon the Kings cost; and I drew a plack of yt, and brought yt to hym. The French King was there

[1] Newhaven.

the same time, and the Admiral Brian, and the cunstable that is now, were there nine days to view yt, and to cast its ditches. And over that they made a cry, that whatsoeve [i.e. whosoever] would come and build there at Newhaven, should have his foundation, and cost hym nothing. And so after my coming home, my Lord Crumwel conferred the matter with me and my Lord Fitz Williams, that was then lord admiral, better than three or four hours, perviewing the placket; and said yf he lived, and that warrs should happen, that should surely be remembred, for yt was worthy the hering. And so he put me to the King: and so [I] travailed in his Graces affairs xxviii viages, both in France, Spayne, and Italy, and found hym always good lord unto me, or els I had ben a very poor man. For I had two ships taken by the French men for xxvi yeres agon; and have had continual sute with them, and never could bryng yt to an end, but was fain to leve yt, and follow the Kings affayrs; and had things many tymes to say to my Lord of Winchester, concerning the Kings procedings, the which he might not wel away withal, nor Jarmyn Gardener, his secretary. And so whan any my Lord Crumwel died, I fered my Lord of Winchester, and so ceased, and fel to my sute agayn in France: for I had many a hevy look for hym of Mr. Wallop, and he sayd that my great god was gon, and that there was none longing to hym but spies and hereticks. But as for me, I did those things that I was commanded to do by those days.

And now, forasmouch as I do se the gloriousnes of the Frenchmen, and how they do rejoyce of their roberies, I can do no less but certify your mastership that as I know. For yf we wil know our own strength, their courage shal be bated wel ynough: for kepe them from fishing, and geve no save conduits, and kepe them from Newcastel coles, and they are not able to lyve. Or yf the western men have leve to go to sea, and take what they can, and maintayn a lyttel prety ile, called Oldernay, wheras I have ben or now, and stand in the top of the castel in a clere day, and sene a man ryde a horseback in France; and nother the Brytons, nor the Gascons, can convey any thing into France or in Flanders, but they must come betwixt the shore and them. It is another manner of thing then it is taken. For

I would wysh from the bottom of my hart that yt might be loked upon: yt would make the very Brytons, and the Normans, and the Gascons to stope.

I have or now advertysed al this to my Lord of Somerset, both by wryting and by mowth. And his Grace hath written me a letter to come to hym, and conferr certayn matters with hym; and would have sent me into Gascoin whan the insurrection was there. The which yf I had gon, and the cunstable had catched me, I had payed for my comyng. And whan I declared his Grace my mynd, I contentyd hym.

I do rejoyce from the bottom of my hart to think, how toward a master we have: and again, I rejoyce to se how Gods word is trewly and syncerely set forth. There lacketh nothing but to fere God, and to be in obedience of our Prynce. I do rejoyce again, to se what godly provision here is for the poor; the which would rejoyce any English heart to se. And also [wish] that these matters aforesayd may be loked upon, and that the ships and the maryners may be maintayned. For the vice ameral of France, Monsr. de Muy, hath sayd unto me or now, that we had no ships in the realm of Englond, that were any thing worth, but the Kings: and that yf they had such ports and havens as we have, and such commodytes longing to them, they would make themselves berds of gold.

I put no doubts but my Lord of Northumberlands grace hath knowledg of these things, by reason that his Grace lay long in Roan of a long tyme. I am so bold to wryte half a dozen words to his Grace; the which I would humbly desire you to deliver yt hym, and to read hym my book. And his [*sic*] moost humbly I take my leave of you for this tyme. Written at London, the first day of October, by yours with his poor sarvice durying his lyfe,

Thomas Barnabe.

5. ARGUMENTS IN FAVOUR OF ESTABLISHING WEDNESDAY AS AN ADDITIONAL FISH DAY, FEBRUARY, 1563.

[S.P.D. Eliz., Vol. XXVII., No. 71. Words in italics are interpolations in Cecil's hand.][1]

Arguments to prove that it is necessary for the restoring of the Navye of England to have *more fishe eaten and therfor* one daye more in the weeke ordeyned to be a fissh daye, and that to be Wednesdaye, *rather than any other.*

First, it cannot be denied but that the navye is knowen to be decayed, wherof there is more cause to make a lamentacion then to yeld a demonstration. The decaye is *in twoo partes*, the one *in* lack of shippes *and vesselles* in the subiectes handes, the other, which is the greatest, *in* lack of mariners.

As to the lack of shippes there be many causes, wherof some be remediles, and some *maye be remedyed, wherof some very hardly and some more easely.* The causes remediles are these: the *ancient* navigation *into* the levant is diminished by reason of the haunte of the turkes and mores that *now* haunt those seas, *and dayly increass there navy there*, and by reason *also that* the spicery that was in the venetians handes is come to the portingales and spaniardes *by ther* [*sic*] *meanes of there Indias;* An other late cause is by an order made in spayne that no wares *of that contry* shalbe caried from thence in any strangers bottom, if there be any spanish to be had, *so as* [*by*] *experience it hath bene lately proved that a nombre of english shippes fraughted thyther have bene constrayned to retorn empty. So as westward the navigation is deminished in this manner by these causees which ar remedyless thrugh our power. Lykewise estward and northward the navigation is empeched by causeës ether remedyless or at*

[1] This document was evidently intended for a speech in Parliament on 5 Elizabeth, c. 5 (see No. 6 below). It is followed in the volume of S.P.D. by drafts in Cecil's hand of clauses Nos. xxii., xxiii. and xxiv., and two notes, 'Nota to put out the clause for limitation of dishees of flesh for knightes,' and 'Note that this act shall endure for vij [*sic*] yeres and from thencefurt[h] to contynew and be executed untill the end of the next parlemynt.'

the lest hard to be remedyed: the recovery of the Iles of Island into the possession of the Kyng of Denmark, and his augmentation of his toole at the belt; the possession also of the townes of riga and revell and nerva, whereof the moscovit hath gotte on, the King of Sweden the other, and therby warres mayntened betwixt them.

The causes of lack of shippes that may be *hardely remedyed ar sondry: decaye of tymber to buyld shippes, decaye of harborowes and havens, Dover, Rye, Sandwych in the north.*

The causes of hyndrance of english navigation that may be by lawes remedyed with tolleration of some tyme ar these: 1. *the trade of commodities comming to this* realme is most vsed by strangers, as the wynes, the oade out of Fraunce; 2. the hearinges and other sea fissh taken vpon our coast and brought *and sold* by strangers into the *portes of the* Realme to *the very inhabitantes of the portes that wer wont to be fishermen;* 3. the prohibition of carieng of sea fysh *and sellyng of it* out of the Realme *by englishmen.*

Remedies for these iij *latter must nede* be these iij provisions: first, that wynes and oade shall not be brought into this Realme but in english bottomes, *as heretofor by lawes hath bene provyded;* next, that no englishman shall buy any fressh hearing that is taken by a stranger; *thirdly,* that it shalbe lefull to cary *and sell* seafissh out of the Realme.

Now it is to be considered whither these iij remedies *being authorised by law,* are able to restore both shippes and marinors, *for if they be, than wer it be convenient to seke no furder. But although they might doo some good, yet shall it be proved that they can nothing tend to the recovery of that which the realme hath very nede of.* First, note that the statute made for restraint for bringing in of french wynes, *which is the first remedy,* continued from 4 Henry 7 untill 5 Edward 6, at which time a tolleration [was made] for strangers to bring in wynes a primo febr. ad primum Octob.; and yet before 5 of Edward 6 the navy of England, *both in shippes and maryners* was *manifestly* decayed, *and indede hath somewhat more decayed sence that estatut.* And concerning byeng of fissh of strangers, *which is the second remedy, that order contynued* from 33 Henry 8 untill primo Marie; and yet the navy *also in that tyme manifestly* decayed. As to the third remedy, it is

sene also that non was prohibited to cary *and sell* hering out of the realme vntill anno 2 Marie; *and yet* it is certaine *and manifest that before that tyme* the nombre of fishermen were decayed *in this realme. And because it will be sayd that speche is vsed of decaye but no prooffe, thus it is proved: the nombre of shippes decayed from* 36 *Henry* 8 *vntill the last of King Edward ar* 59, *and all of* 100 *and above, and from* 1° *Marie until* 1560, 45, *being all above* 100 *tonnes.* So that it followeth that, although these iij remedies be provided, yet the same cannot make such a restitucion of the navye but that it shall decaye as it did whylest these remedies were *in vse;* adding to it *also* that, before those lettes were devised, *and whylest the remedyes were in vse,* there was a more vniversall eating of fishe *by observation of fish dayes* in the realme than is now.

Wherefore it *must nedes be* concluded that some other thing must be provided to *increass the navy and to* multiply marinors, and in the meane tyme, after mariners shalbe multiplied, though shippes shall not be so plentifully builded, yet the Royal navy *shall be* furnished with english marinors *and thereby* by goddes grace be hable to defend the realme against all foregn power. *For otherwise to multiply shippes and to lack marynors is to sett armur vppon stakes on the sea cost and to provyde no people to wear it, or to buyld castells and put no soldiers in them.* The very ground that naturally serveth to brede marinors is the trade and conversation vpon the sea, which is divided into ij sortes: *the one* is to cary and recary marchandizes, *the other is* to take fish; *for the thyrd, which is exercise of pyracy, is detestable and can not last.* For the first, so that the trade may be reduced into english mens handes *as nere as may be,* the realme is in as good case for multitude of merchandize, both caried out and brough[t] in, as in any age it hath ben, and, to saye the truthe, the Realme abundeth with both, and overmuch with the forrayn *in so much as you make lawes ageynst it, and therefore this trade is not to be augmented.* For the other, that is the trade of fishing, how it is decayed manifestly appeareth vpon all the sea coastes by decaye of the port townes, the peres and harborowes, which if they be not shortly remedied will grow remediles.

The causes of the decaye of fishing must be the lacke of the

vse of fisshing, which must be divided into ij partes: *small* eating of fysh in the Realme, and *no* selling *of* it abroade. As to the latter *part, which is* for selling of fyshe *by englishmen* out of the Realme, [it] was prohibited in anno primo Marie, and not before, but yet *if it* [*is*] *now sett at lardg* how long it wilbe or any trade can be gotten to vtter any quantitye shall sone appeare by this *playne* demonstracion. *No sellyng can be wher no byeng will be, and that ther will be ether none or small byeng abrod shall appere by this reason.* First, for Scotland, Norway, Denmark, freëseland, Zeëland, holland and Flanders, it is sene there plenty is such that they do not only *therby* take sufficient for themselves, but also *doo* serve other contreys *with the same*, as England and *in some parte* France, and than *now* resteth only France to receave that commoditie from us, *for as for spayne, they serve themselves with the fishyng in Island vppon the south cost.* How *france* of late yeres aboundeth with fyshermen lett the navigacion to the new fond land testifye, where there be occupied above v^{c} sayle yerely, which, accounting but xxx^{tie} to a vessell, *wher indede they vsually occupy xl*, maketh the nombre of xv thousand men. They also send to fissh for hearing vpon *the* coast *of england* yerely above v^{c} sayle, which, having but x in a *vessell*, maketh v thousand. *So as france being thus provided for by themselves of fish ether sufficient or very nere*, it *may be* very dowtful that *no great sale can be made of fish to be taken by english men out of the realme, and so consequently* no great good can insue of the devise to license englishmen to sell fysh out of the realme of a long tyme, at the least vntill the french shalbe forced to leave the trade of fyshing . . . [*MS. torn*] *and yet this liberty is to be allowed to help some* . . . [*MS. torn*].

Wherefore all these things considered, that the trades *which have been* of marchandize into Levant *and spayne* is decayed, *the trades of navigacion into Island and Estland is impeched, the buyldyng of* shippes is costly and difficult for lack of timber, the experience of the statutes prohibiting strangers to bring in fysh and wynes proveth that notwithstanding these prohibitions the navy and marinors *have* decayed, and on the other side selling of fysh out of the Realme hath no present *great* vent: it must nedes followe that *the remedyes must be sought to increase*

marrynors by fishyng as a cause most naturall, easy and perpetuall to brede and mayntene marynors. And then are wee to compare whither more *fish* shalbe eaten then *presently* is or *hath* lately or in former tymes *bene.* And here *we* must speke to them whose fathers *within these 27 yeres* lived when more fish was eaten *within the realme* then ever this statute *makyng no more but wednesday a fish day* will *or can procure.* And *how than* shall this be called *such* an innovation *which shall not be hable to* restore the Realme, for *necessary* defence of the same, to the state it was in xxvij yeres *past, which is* about the *xxvij*th *yere of King Henry the eight?* In *which very yere* was there a lawe made made [*sic*] in favor of tillage, which was *not than* in such decaye; by which statute was given to the King the moytie of the rentes of all landes converted from tillage into pasture sence the first yere of King Henry the vijth, which was the iust space of 1 yeres, and yet I think no argument of innovacion stayed men to accord to *that law* for the necessitie, *but* well I knowe it passed and was made a lawe, as I wish this to be.

And to prove that making of wednesdaye a fysh daye will not cause so much fissh to be eaten in the realme as was eaten *abowt* anno xxvij^{o} *Henry 8,* which is but xxvij^{tie} yeres past, thus by colleccion I prove it. The Wednesdaies that by this act shalbe fysh dayes *shall be* in nombre but *xxxij or xxxiii* at the most, which is thus proved. Of lii Wednesdayes *in the whole,* vj are in lent, iiij imbring Wednesdaies. Then commonly, as by example of this year *it happeneth, iii or iiij* other Wednesdayes are the fasting evens of the Ascension, Midsomer, and SS. Simon and Jude. And now *to be* excepted is Christmas and Easter weke. All which make xvj, so there remayneth but xxxvj; for the which ye may tak awaye certen fastes relinquished, as S. Lawrence even, Assumption, Nativitie, and conception *of our Lady,* being iiij. So there remaineth but xxxiii [*sic*]. There is the grete burden to eate fysh uppon xxxij daies distributed a sondre *in every weke, which* is not after the rate for eny hundreth daye in the year x daies.

And now it is to be seene whither this burden will ether encrease so many fyshermen as men may be afraied that they will overgrow other states of men and percase be dangerouse, as

some hath gessed, though without great pondering *or forsight* of speache; or *whyther it* will cause as much fysh to be eaten as was about the xxvij yer of the reigne of King Henry the viijth. About that time were in this realme v^{c} houses of relligion that paied tenthes to the King, *as by the booke of xth may appeare*, besides fryereis, which may be estemed as ij or iij^{c}, but I will leave them to serve for a surplus of my accompt. Colledges also and all commandrees I will leave, and the iiij howses of observantes *which I will forbeare that did eat fish all weyse*. Those v^{c}, accompting but 1 to a house—*though many had no less than an hundred, some ij^{c}*—maketh xxv^{m} persons, all which nombre did eate fysh lxxvi daies *in the yere which* be not now observed for fysh, that is, xx *in* advent, xx *in* septuagesima, the wednesday through the yeres, *being in nombre*, besides lent, advent, imbring, and septuagesima, xxxvj, which made lxxvj, besides certen dayes of peculier vowes. What quantitie of fysh these spent may be also gessed by this reckoning of Flessh: xxv^{m} men are allowed in biefe for one daye ij^{c} oxen, that is for lxxvi daies xv^{m} oxen, which may be estemed was spared by their fast, and now is spent, *and so much the less fish*. Adde to this the expences of fysh *thrugh the whole realm*, the xl daies in lent without eating of whitmeate, which *may* be accompted well a third *part*, that is at the least xiij daies more fysh then is now spent. Add to this *also* the forbearing vtterly to eat flessh upon any fysh daye, so as sence I can remember not so much as the King had license and Sir Brian Tuk was noted as an [*M.S. illegible*] only for having a licence; which was occasion of eating so much fish as now is eaten in flesh *upon fish daies*. Add also the unyversall observation of the wednesdaies by a great multitude of people *in the realm for superstition*, I think exceding the relligiouse persons that observed wednesdaye, whereof there be not many left; and if they be I think the more parte eateth whit meat and not fysh, because it is not to be had *on the wednesdays commonly*. Besid this, though wednesday *shuld* be ordeined a fysh daye, yet consider how many shall not eate fysh by this ordenaunce, that I think *the nombre* is more then the one halfe of the Realme, *being* thus collected: of those that will eate no fish on wednesdaye may be collected a third part of the people *beyng husbandmen*,

laborers and poore howsholders *with there children and servantes*, and of those that before the making of this estatute did eate and will here after be the most nomber of people dwelling on the sea coast, *or nere thereto, being poore;* so as *to conclude*, a small nomber of welthy, delicate people shall observe this daye, and yet of them no small nombre will by license *or without license* breake it, which may be gessed by the humors of men in this howse *that are so ernest ageynst it.* Now therfore it will follow that, comparing the quantytye of fysshe that is lykely to be eaten on this Wednesdaye being so fewe dayes *in nombre*, and so many not intending to eate ether by license or by povertie and custome, or so many as before did eate, the bourden *to eate fish* will not be great *to many* nor the quantitie comparable to that which *may be gathered* was eaten before xxvij^{tie} yeres. And therfore it must of reason be allowed in so grete a necessytie for the realme, being also not the full help of the nede and yet the best, surest and easiest to be found. As for the reasons of commoditie, many may be devised: the saving of flessh, the frugalitie in mens howsholdes.

[*Endorsed*] Arguments to prove that it is necessary for the restoring of the navy of England to have one day more in the weeke ordained to be a fish day and that to be Wensday rather than any other. Argumentes for increase of the navye.

6. 'AN ACTE TOWCHING CERTAYNE POLITIQUE CONSTITUTIONS MADE FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF THE NAVYE' (5 ELIZABETH, c. 5), 1563.

[Stats. of the Realm, Vol. IV., Pt. I., p. 422.]

I. For the better maynetenance and encreace of the Navye of this Realme of Englande, Bee it enacted . . . That from the first daye of Aprill Anno Domini One thowsande fyve hundrede threeskore foure, and so from thensforthe, it shalbe laufull to all and every of the Subjectes of our Sovereigne Ladye the Quene her heires and successoures at his and their Will and Pleasure, to carry and transporte out of this Realme in the Shippes or other Vesselles of any the Subjectes aforesaid, all

and every kindes of Hearring and other Sea Fishe to be taken upon the Seas by any of the Subjectes aforesaid; any Acte of Parliament or Lawe to the contrary notwithestanding: And that all and every person and persons whiche shall by vertue of this Acte transporte or carrye any Hearinges or other Sea Fishe from or out of any Porte or Harboroughe of this Realme, to any Place out of the Dominions of the Quenes Majestie her heirs or successoures, shalbe free from payment of any Custome, Subsidie or Pondage Money for the same Fishe so carried or transported, during the space of foure whole yeres, beginning at the said first daye of Aprill Fiftene hundrethe threskore foure, and so further during her Majesties Pleasure.

II. [None shall set price on, make restraint or demand toll of sea-fish brought into the realm by English subjects in English ships, on pain of forfeiting the value of the fish so restrained, etc.].

III. [Saving the liberties of the Mayor and Burgesses of Kingston-on-Hull. They may take tolls as granted by 33 Henry VIII., c. 33. The inhabitants may not take advantage of this Act permitting the export of herrings and salted fish.]

IV. [No purveyors or other person shall take any herring or sea-fish from any subject who has taken the same in his ship, except by agreement with the owners or sellers of the fish, on pain of forfeiting double the value of the fish so taken.] Provided that the Fishe called Composicion Fishe heretofore granted to the Quenes Majestie by the Subjectes of this Realme traveyling into Iselande shalbee taken by her Majesties Officers and Purveyours, in suche sorte as the same hathe been laufully used to be taken before the making of this Acte; and saving to the Quenes Majestie her Heires and Successours and to all other persons suche Fishes as bee knowen and used to bee called Royall Fishes, wheronto her Majestie or the said other persons have or shall have Right or Interest, for suche Recompence as heretofore hathe been accustomed.

V. [No person may buy of any alien or out of any foreign ship any herring which is not sufficiently salted, packed and casked, on pain of forfeiting the herrings so bought or the value thereof. Provided that it shall as heretofore be lawful to buy herrings brought into the realm by reason of shipwreck.]

VI. [No fish, victuals or any wares whatsoever may be carried from one port to another within the realm in foreign ships on pain of forfeiture of all the goods so laden.

From henceforth all English 'hoyes and plates' may cross the seas as far as Caen in Normandy and eastward as far as Norway, notwithstanding the statute 1 Eliz., c. 13.]

VII. And forasmuche as ther ys muche deceiptfull Packing used in Codd and Lynges brought in Barrelles or other Caske into this Realme . . . yt shall not be laufull to any person or persons to bring into this Realme any Codde or Linges in Barrelles or other Caskes, but loose in Bulke and by Tale to be solde within this Realme; upon paine . . . to forfaite all the Codd and Linges so to be brought in, or the value thereof.

VIII. [No French wines or Toulouse woad may be brought into the realm except in English ships, on pain of forfeiting all wines and woad so brought, according to 4 Henry VII., c. 10. Provided that Rochelle wines may be brought into Wales or Monmouthshire.]

IX. [Owners of ships, fishers on the sea, gunners commonly called cannoners, and shipwrights may take one or more apprentices, who shall serve for ten years or less. Every apprentice, being above seven years of age, shall be bound according to the custom of the City of London. The indentures shall be enrolled in the town where the apprentice resides, if a town corporate, or otherwise in the nearest corporate town, the officers of the town taking a fee not exceeding 12^{d}. for such enrolment.]

X. [Repeals so much of the statute of 5 & 6 Edward VI., c. 14 and other statutes against regrators and forestallers as concerns the buying of seafish unsalted or mud fish, or any wine, oil or salt, bought upon the sea and brought into the realm in English ships.]

XI. And for encrease of Provision of Fishe by the more usuall and common eating thereof . . . every Wednesdaye in every Weeke through the whole yere, which heretofore hathe not by the Lawes or Customes of this Realme bene used and observed as a Fishe Daye, and which shall not happen to fall in Christmas Weeke or Easter Week, shalbe hereafter observed and

kepte as the Saterdays in every Weeke bee or ought to be: And that no maner of person shall eate any Fleshe on the same daye otherwise then ought to bee upon the common Saterdaye.

XII. And . . . for the benefit and commodities of this Realme to growe aswell in maintenance of the Navie, as in sparing and encrease of Fleshe Victuall of this Realme . . . yt shall not bee laufull to any person or persons within this Realme to eate any Fleshe upon any Dayes nowe usually observed as Fishe Days, or upon any Wednesdaye nowe newly lymitted to bee observed as Fishe Daye [on pain of a fine of £3 or three months' close imprisonment]; And every person or persons within whose House any suche Offence shalbe done, and being pryvie or knowing therof, and not effectually punisheng or disclosing the same to some publyque Officer having aucthoritie to punishe the same, for every suche Offence to forfaite fourtye Shillinges; [one third of such forfeitures to go to the Crown, one third to the informer, and one third to the common use of the parish where the offence is committed, to be levied by the Churchwardens].

XIII. [This Act shall not extend to any person that shall have a special licence to each flesh. Lords of Parliament and their wives shall pay for a licence 26/8 yearly to the poor men's box in their parish, knights and their wives shall pay 13/4, persons of lesser degree, 6/8. Provided that no licence extend to the eating of beef at any time of the year nor to the eating of veal between Michaelmas and May 1st.] Provided also that all persons whiche by reason of notorious sicknes shalbee inforced for Recoverye of Helthe to eate Fleshe for the time of their sicknes, shalbe sufficiently licensed by the Bishoppe of the Dyoces or by the Parson, Vicar or Curate of the Parishe where suche person shalbee sicke, or of one of the next Parishe adjoining, yf the sayd Parson, Vicar or Curate of his or their owne Parishe bee wilfull, or yf there bee no Curate within the same Parishe; . . . And that yf the sicknes shal continue above the space of eight dayes after suche Lycence granted, then the Lycence shall bee regestred in the Churche Book with the knowledge of one of the Churchewardens, and the partie lycensed shall give to the Curate foure pens for thentrye therof and that Lycence tendure no longer but onely for the tyme of his, her or

their sicknes: And yf any Lycence by any Parson, Vicar or Curate be granted to any person or persons (other then suche as evidently appeare to have nede thereof by reason of their sicknes), not onely every suche Lycence shalbe voide, but also every suche Parson, Curate or Vicar shall forfeite for everye suche Lycence otherwise granted, fyve Marckes.

XIV. [Licences hitherto granted shall be of as good force for the Wednesdays now limited and other accustomed fish days as they were before this Act. And such persons as heretofore were licensed by reason of age or other impediment or cause by order of the ecclesiastical laws shall enjoy the same privilege and accustomed licences.]

XV. [Owners of ships shall not suffer forfeiture of ship or other penalty for transporting wheat or other corn or things prohibited by 1 & 2 Philip & Mary, c. 5, unless the owner is witting, aiding or consenting to such transporting.]

XVI. [All persons authorised by statute to sell wines by retail may from henceforth sell the said wines at such prices and in such form as shall be limited by the Queen's Proclamation, with the assent of such Lords and other persons as were by 28 Henry VIII. c. 14 authorised to set price on wines in gross.]

XVII. [It shall be lawful for English subjects to export wheat, rye, barley, malt, peas and beans, in English-owned ships, for sale beyond the seas, from such ports as shall be named by Royal Proclamation, when the prices at the said ports do not exceed:—wheat, 10/- the quarter; rye, peas or beans, 8/- the quarter; barley or malt, 6/8 the quarter.]

XVIII. [The statute 18 Henry VI. c. 19 ordained against soldiers departing from their captains without licence applies also to all mariners and gunners taking prest or wages to serve the Queen.]

XIX. [The statute 24 Henry VIII. c. 4 for sowing flax and hemp] for the better Provision of Nettes for Helpe and Furtherance of Fishing and for eschewing of Idleness [shall be revived in such counties or parts of counties where it shall by Royal Proclamation be declared to be commodious or profitable for the commonwealth; with the proviso that instead of a rood one whole acre or less, as fixed in the Proclamation, shall be

sown with linseed, otherwise flax seed or hemp seed, and on pain of a fine of £5 instead of 3/4.]

XX. [Offences under this Act committed on the main sea shall be tried before the Lord Admiral or his Deputies and other Justices of Oyer and Terminer, according to the statute 28 Henry VIII. c. 15 for causes of piracy; the same committed within the Cinque Ports shall be tried before the Lord Warden or his Lieutenant or Justices of Oyer and Terminer; and all such other offences as shall be done in the land or in any haven or pier shall be tried by the Justices of the Peace, or by Mayors, etc. in cities and towns corporate, as well by the oaths of twelve men as otherwise by information. Forfeitures shall be to the use of the Lord Admiral, the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, the Crown, and corporations of cities and towns corporate, respectively. If the offender is convicted on information one half of the fine shall go to the informer.]

XXI. . . . [Proceedings must be begun within six months if at suit of an informer, otherwise within a year.]

XXII. Provided . . . That it shalbe laufull to any person or persons to have at his or theyr Table upon every Wednesdaye, being ordered by this Estatute to be observed as a Fishe Daye, one onely usuall competent dishe of Fleshe of one kind and no mo, so that he, she, or they have also served to the same Table and Mease at the same Meale, three full competent usuall dishes of Sea Fishe of sundry kindes, either freshe or salte, and that without Fraude or Covin, and so shall also order that the same Fishe be meet and seasonable, and that it shalbe eaten or spent in lyke maner as upon Frydais or Saterdais in like cases arre used: And that all suche persons as have or hereafter shall have upon good and just consideracions anny laufull Lycence to eate Fleshe upon any Fishe Daye (except suche persons as for sicknes shall for the tyme be lycensed by the Bushoppe of the Dioces or by their Curates, or shalbe lycenced by reason of age or other impediment allowed heretofore by Thecclesiastic-all Lawes of this Realme) shalbe bounde by force of this Statute to have, for every one dishe of fleshe served to be eaten at their Table, one usuall dishe of Sea Fishe, freshe or salte, to be likewise served at the same Table and to bee eaten or spent without

Fraude or Covin, as the lyke kinde ys or shalbe usually eaten or spente on Saterdayes: And that these twoo Articles and Clauses next above shalbe taken and interpreted from time to time in the favour of expence of Sea Fishe; and that Thoffender or Offenders herein shalbe punished in lyke maner as is ordred by this Estatute for Punishment of suche as shall eate Fleshe upon Frydayes, Saterdayes, or other Fishe Dayes.

XXIII. And because no maner of person shall misjudge of thintent of this Estatute, limitting Orders to eate Fyshe and to forbeare eating of Fleshe, but that the same ys purposely intended and ment politikely for thincrease of Fishermen and Mariners and repairing of Porte Townes and Navigacion, and not for any Supersticion to be maynteyned in the Choyce of Meates; Bee yt enacted, That whosoever shall by Preaching, Teaching, Writing or open Speeche, notefie that any eating of Fishe and forbearing of Fleshe mentyoned in this Statute ys of any necessitee for the saving of the Soule of Man, or that yt ys the Service of God, or otherwise then as other politike Lawes arre and bee, that then suche person shalbee punished as spreaders of fause Newes arr or ought to bee.

XXIV. Bee it enacted in the favour of Fishermen and Maryners haunting the Sea as Fishermen or Maryners, that none of them shall hereafter at any tyme bee compelled agaynst his or their Will to serve as any Souldiour upon the Sea or upon the Lande, otherwise then as a Maryner; Except yt shalbee to serve under any Captayne of some Shippe or Vessell for Landing to do some speciall exployte whiche Maryners have used to doo, or under any other person having aucthorite to withstande anny Invasion of Ennemies, or to subdue any Rebellyon within the Realme, and also except all suche persons as by Tenure, lawfull Custome or Covenante bee or shalbe otherwise bounde to serve.

XXV. [Proviso saving the liberties of all persons and corporations.]

XXVI. Provided alwaies and be yt further enacted by thaucthoritee aforesayd, That no Fisherman using or haunting the Sea shalbee taken by the Quenes Majesties Commission to serve her Highnes as a Maryner on the Sea, but that the sayd

Commission bee first brought by her Highnes Taker or Takers, or Twoo Justices of Peace next adjoyning and inhabyting to the said Sea Costes, Townes or other Places where the said Maryners arr so to bee taken, to the Intent the sayd Justices maye choose out and cause to bee returned suche sufficient nomber of hable men as in the said Commission shalbee conteyned to serve her Majestie as ys aforesaid.

XXVII. [Proviso saving the liberties of the Cinque Ports and Great Yarmouth] touching the free Faire kepte at Yarmouthe, other then in byeng of Strangers and taking of Toll as the same bee before prohibyted.

XXVIII. [Proviso saving the authority of the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports.]

XXIX. [It shall be lawful for strangers to bring French wines in foreign ships into the Isle of Man to the extent of 100,000 tuns yearly.]

XXX. [Like Proviso for Chepstow, 'over and besydes all Rochell Wynes'.]

XXXI. [Like Proviso for ports of Wales and Newport in Monmouthshire.]

XXXII. [Saving to the Crown the duties, etc., payable on the above mentioned 300,000 tuns of wine.]

XXXIII. [This Act shall not confer any greater authority on the Lord Admiral or others claiming Admiralty jurisdiction than they had before, other than for such offences specified in this Act as shall be done on the sea within the jurisdiction of the Admiralty.]

XXXIV. [This Act shall continue for ten years from Michaelmas 1564 and from thence to the end of the next Parliament.]

7. FIRST APPOINTMENT OF THE COMMISSIONERS FOR THE REPRESSION OF PIRACY, 8 NOV., 1565.

[Acts of the Privy Council, Vol. VII., pp. 278 *seq.*]

Elizabeth by the grace of God etc: To our trusty and well-belovid A.B.C., greting; where dyvers evill disposid persons, as it apperythe, forgettinge the feare of Almightye God and the

duetye of good subjectes, have of late in sundry vessells and shippes frequentyd the seas upon the coast of this our realme, robbinge and spoylinge honest quyett merchauntes and others, both of our owne subjectes, and of the princes, being presentlye in legue and good amytye with us, which cometh chiefly to passe by reason the said pyrattes, whereof parte are knowen also to be of other nacions, are at the handes of a nomber of disordered persons, dwellinge within or nere the havens, crekes and landinge places of this our realme, secretly refresshed with victualles, furnyshed with munytion and other necessaries, and sundrye other wayes by byeng of the stollen wares ayded and relyved, to the manifest contempt of us and our lawes and the grete sclaunder of this our realme; lyke as for the dyscharge of our duetye towardes God and the worlde we have alredy used many good meanes, so findinge the inconvenyences not yet remedyed as we wold wishe, we have thought of some such better meanes as we durst [*sic*] not but shall reforme the same fully, the lyke whereof we trust other princes, our neighburs, will for their parte see donne upon their coastes; and therfore for the better performynge thereof and for the spetiall trust we have conceived of your wisdomes and fidelyties we have chosen and appointed you to have the chief care under us of the havens, crekes and landinge places within this our countye of—, in such sorte and order as by certaine articles of instructions hereunto annexed shall at better lengthe appere unto you; and with that ende our pleasure and comaundment is, after you shall have diligentlye perused and considred the sayde articles, that you shall chose and appointe by vertue and aucthorytie thereof, as your Deputies for the execucion of the same, suche and so many honeste, discrete and trustye personnes dwelling within or nere every of the said havens, crekes and landing places within that shire as you shall thinke necessarye for that purpose, having spetyall regard that they nor any of them, eyther in respect of any offyce or otherwyse, may seme any waies to be touched with any disposition to hinder the execution of the said articles, or be otherwise, by profession, manner of lyvinge or in any other sorte, lykelye for hope of gaine, feare of discoveringe of their owne former mysdemeanors, or any other

particuler respect or affection, to favour any pyrattes or other offendours mysusing them selfes in carryenge of thinges owt of our realme beinge prohibited, but may honestly, diligently and carefully attende from tyme to tyme to thexecucion of the said articles in every pointe as to their dueties belongethe, and as shall appere to be our meaninge by the sayd articles: and for the better execution hereof we will that you shall gyve to them an othe to execute the same charge trulye, and that such a convenyant and sufficient nombre be appointed to be your Deputies in this behalf as no one of the said havens, crekes or landinge places be lefte unprovided of sufficient personnes to take care and loke therunto in such sorte as appertainethe, which persons or any of them it shalbe lawfull for you to remove and appointe other in their places as often as you shall have occasion or shall see necessarye; and for that purpose you shall joinetely together, or the more parte of you, accordinge to the commodytie of your duellinge places, once every monethe at the leaste, or oftener, repayre to the said havens, creekes and landinge places, and understand by the best meanes you may how your sayd Deputies shall have performyd the charge commytted unto them, to thend that by your assistance our intentyon may be the better furdered, and the inconvieniences you shall finde may be redressed. And of your doinges our plesure is you shall certyfye our Pryvey Councell as sone as you have appointed your Deputies, who they are, and how their charge is distributid, and after that in lyke manner to advertise your proceedinges once every monethe at the leaste; and we will and commaund that all manner Sheryffes, Mayours, Baylyffes, Customers, Comptrollers, Serchers, Waterbaylyves, Captaines of Castells and Bulwerkes, and all other our officers and mynisters, what so ever they be, [to] be aydinge, assystinge and obedyent unto you in the execution of this our Commyssion.

Articles for the repressinge of piraties and other dysorders to be executed upon the sea costes within the county of Norffolke, and all other counties upon the sea costes:—

Fyrst, inquyrie to be made of all portes, crekes and landinge places within that shire, with the proper names thereof, and

how many of the same have any townes or habitations scytuate upon the same, and what the same be, and what nomber of howseholdes are in the same towne, and how many do lacke habitacions, and in whose governance all the sayd portes, crekes and landinge places are, and by whose aucthorytie shippes and vessells are commenly lycensed, eyther to lade or unlade there, or to lande or go forthe from the same place, and of all the premysses to make due and particuler certyficat.

Item, what shippes, boates and vessels do belong to everye of the said places, and of what burden every of the same be, and to whom they do belonge, and what be the names of the shippes, and in what sorte or trade they are comonly occupyed, and what nomber of persons are usuallye occupyed or attendinge to gett their livinge with the same vessells, and how manye of the same are marryners and how many fyshermen.

Item, to take straight order that none of the same shippes or vessells, nor any other shippe or vessell that hereafter shall come thither, shall go to the sea for any respect or servyce, without knowledge gyven and assent had of such or so manye as by the hed Commyssioners shall be deputed to receve the informacion thereof, and to gyve lycens for the goinge to the seas or steyinge them as they shall see cawse.

Item, that no graine, victuell, lether, horses, mares or geldinges, nor any other thinge prohibited by the lawes or orders of the realme, shalbe suffered to be put into any vessell or caryed to the seas without knowledge first gyven to the said Deputies to consider by what aucthoryte the same shalbe attemptid, and that except thauctoryte or warraunte may appere to procede directlye from the Quenes Majestie and to remaine in force, nothing of the premisses be sufferid to be laden or caryed further, and at this tyme to have spetiall regarde that no maner of graine be sufferid to be sent owt untill spetiall warraunte shall come from her Majestie for the same, with expresse wordes conteyninge the quantyte and cawse of sending furthe the same.

Item, whensoever any shippe or vessell shall come into any of the said portes or landing places, that knowledge be gyven furthwith to the said personnes deputed by the Commyssioners, and by their discrecion and order the wares and commodytees

brought in shalbe landid and put to vent or sale, so as nevertheles if there shalbe any suspycion of unlawfull gettinge of the said wares or comodytees, that then regard be had by the sayd Deputies for the arestinge and furthe comynge both of the persons and the wares, and examynacion to be spedelye and severally taken of as much as shalbe sene nedefull to trye owt the suspition, and thereof certificat to be gyven and made to the Commyssioners, and as they shall order so therein to be donne.

Item, that no maner of victuell be made redye or provided and sente to any porte or creke from any place for the victellinge of any vessell, but with the speciall knowledge, lycens and assent of the said Deputies, and they to have good consideracion that they gyve no assent or allowance in those cases, but where they shall perceve planelye the same victuell to be made redye or provided to be employed for the use of shippes to be used for good and true merchauntes, or for the trade of fyshinge, or where passage shalbe for honest passingers, and in no wyse for any men of warre other then such as shall manyfestly be knowen to belonge to the Queen's Majestie, and shall have spetiall Commyssion of her Majestie for the same; the lyke care shalbe had that no munycion, ordenaunce, artillerye, or other provisyon for the warres be made to be bestowed in any shippe or vessell, but such as shalbe mete and convenient for the ordinary defence of merchantes or passingers accordinge to their voyages.

Item, that upon any suspicion concevid of any person for attemptinge to breke any of these orders, or for any matter tending to the attempte of pyracye by way of aydinge, furderinge, abettinge or consentinge, the said Comyssioners and their Deputies shall do their uttermost to arreste and put in good suretie the same personnes to be answerable thereunto.

Item, that bandes and assurances be taken with good penalties of all owners and masters of any shippes or vessells to do nothinge, directlye or indirectlye, to the contrary of the said articles.

Item, the said Commyssioners and their Deputies shall in all their doinges have regard to the favorable usage of all honest merchauntes, aswell straungers being in amytye with her Majestie as Englyshe, that they be not hindered in their trades

by any unnecessary delaies or vexacion, and next that all good meanes be used to procure that her Majestie may be duely answerid of her Customes and Subsidies.[1]

8. CERTIFICATE OF THE INCREASE OF FISHING BOATS SINCE THE PASSING OF 5 ELIZABETH, C. 5, 10 MARCH, 1576.

[S.P.D. Eliz., Vol. CVII., No. 67.]

Wee whose names be hereunto subscribed doo testifie and wilbe redy to prove that the Townes and places which are heare vnderneath written are encreased of Sea fisher bottes and Barkes from Ten Ton of Burden to xxx tons to the nomber of Cxl sayles, from the tyme of the makynge of the statute from Abstynence of fleshe on the Wenisday vntill this present. And if the said lawe had not bin made, wherby those bottes and barkes are increased, so many in nomber or rather more wold have bin decayed within this realme. And therefore wee are of that opynyon if the said lawe shulde no longer indure that it wold be in maner an vtter decayinge of all the whole fishermen within this realme, And so when soever the Quenes Maiestie shulde have any occacion to send her highnes shipps to the Sea, there wold not be found seafaringe men to man the same.

Newe Castell	Blakeney	Aldborough	Mergett
Hartilpoole	Yarmouth	Orford	Ramsgate
Whitbye	Loystoffe	Hardwiche	Broadstayres
Scarborough	S[*blank*]	Colchester	Sandwiche
Lyn	Dunwich	Lye	Dover

with a number of other places generally through the whole realme.

[*Endorsed*] The encrease of shippes and other vesselles since the first makinge of the statue [*sic*] for the maintenance of the navie.

[1] The names of the commissioners for each county or district follow; also a very interesting list of seaports. This was the origin of the Commission for the Restraint of Grain and Victuals.

9. PETITION OF A SHIPOWNER FOR EMPLOYMENT IN THE SPANISH TRADE, 1579.

[S.P.D. Eliz., Vol. CXXXI., No. 61.]

To the Quenes maiesties moste honorable previe Councell.

Moste humbly shewethe unto your honours your Supplyant Olyff Burr of Sothewarke in the Countie of Surrey, copersmythe, whereas aboute two yeres and a half your saide Supplyant hathe susteyned dyvers and sondery losses aswell by the Portingalles, the Frenche Kinge, and prynce of Condey, as otherwise to the vallewe of foure thowsande poundes at the leaste, For restitucion whereof your saide Supplyant hath exhybeted unto your honors dyvers and sondery petycions, And yett colde never have at any of there handes or by your honors meanes any recompence or restitucion for the same. And whereas it pleased the Quenes maiestie by her lettres patentes to graunte unto the merchauntes of Spayne a corporacion, that none of her Subiectes shall trafique thether but onely soche as are or hereafter shalbe free of the saide Company, whereof your Supplyant is one, yett not withstondinge his trafique and lyvenge hathe for these fortie yeres ben cheefly by the maynteyninge of shippinge and the Navygacion. And wheare your Supplyant is nowe chardged with a nomber of shipps which for wante of trafique lye still, to his greate hinderaunce and chardges, for as moche as they are not sett on worke as they haue ben heretofore, And nowe righte honorable, whearas the saide merchauntes have appoynted to lade by good order within the straightes of Malega xij C. tonns of frewte : It may please yor honours of your accustomed goodnes to stonde so good lordes unto your saide Supplyant that in parte of recompence of his saide greate losses he maye have your honours favorable lettres to the presedent and compeny of the saide merchauntes, whereby so many of his saide shipps as from tyme to tyme hereafter shalbe founde meete to serue, either for the saide voyadge or any other voyadge or voyadges hereafter for the parties of Spayne, Biscaye or Portingall, maye be preferred and fraighted by the saide merchauntes before any other shippe, after soche rate and pryce as the saide merchauntes have usually

geven heretofore for the lyke voyages, or as any other hereafter shall serve the saide compeny, beinge good shippes and belonginge to the river of Themes. And your saide Supplyant shall dayly praye to god for the prosperous successe of your honours with moche Increase of honour longe to continewe.

[*Endorsed*] 11 Aug., 1579. Olyffe Burre. That in consideracion of sondry losses hertofore susteyned by him, Their Lordshipps wold graunt him their letters unto the President and Assistentes of Merchantes trading [to] Spain, That his shipps being meete may be employed by them before others, etc.

10. NOTES BY BURGHLEY ON TRADE, FISHING, AND SHIPPING, 1581 (?)

[S.P.D. Eliz., Vol. XLI., No. 58.]

Inconveniencees of enlargyng any power to bryng any more wyne into the realme.

It is manifest that nothyng robbeth the realm of England, but whan moore marchandisees is brought In to the realme than is carryed forth; as for example, if viij thowsand poundes worth of forrayn Commoditees be brought In, and but vj thousand poundes worth of the Commoditees of england carryed furth, the realme must spend uppon the stock yerly ij thousand poundes which must be payd with monny, and it is manifestly seene allredy by the Custommers accomptes in the exchequer that yerly the forrayn commoditees doo surmount the Commoditees of the land.

The remedy hereof is by all pollycyes to abridg the vse of such forrayn commoditees as be not necessary for vs; wherof the excess of silkes is one, of wyne and spyce is an other; and therfor wyttyngly to make a law to increass any of theis is to consent to the robbery of the realm.

Of all theis iij excessees none is more hurtfull to the realm than wyne:

1. first, it enrycheth fraunce, whose power england ought not increass.

2. secondly, for the more part the wynes of france, both those

that come from burdeaux and from Roone, ar bought with sendyng redy monny thyther. For in burdeaux they have an ordonnance forbyddyng barteryng with englishmen for wynes, so as what so ever excess groweth in bryngyng home of wynes, therby the gold which is or shuld be by merchantes brought out of spayne or the low Contreis for the Commodities of england is conveyed into france.

Thyrdly, the multiplyeng of Taverns, which must nedes insew by repealyng the statute of King Edward the vj, is an evident course of disorder of the vulgar people, who by hastyng therto wast ther small substance which they wekly gett by ther hand labor, and committ all evills that accompany dronkenes.

Fourthly, the excessyve drynkyng of wyne deminisheth the use of ale and beare, and consequently decayeth tillage for grayn, which of all labors in the realme wold be favored and cherished, and preferred before such an vnnecessary forrayn commoditee as wyne is; addyng therto, that in tyme of peace wisdom wold thynk what maye chance in warrs, and not to laye downe the vse of our natural foode for the entysement of a forrayn that by occasion of warrs may be kept from us, and than the tyme may prove to late to recover our owne so soone as our nede shall be; and whan so ever france shall fynd this oportvnite to pynch vs, as it is no dovt but ther pollycy seeth farr in all practisees, we may percase smart whan no remedy will be fovnd to ease our payne.

Answer of the obiections.

That sence the statute made, manny port townes ar decayed in ther navy, which wer wont to be occupyed in the vyntage. 1 Ob.

first, Ther may be assigned manny decayes of the navy, so as this shall appere to be noone. The navy of england was hertofore occupyed by merchantes into Levant, to spayn, to portyngall, and now the commoditees which english shippes wer accustomed to bryng thence is for the most part fovnd in Antwerp, from which place on hoye will bryng as much in one yere as x merchantes shippes war wont to bryng from the other placees in ij yers. 1 Answer.

The port townes also wer hertofore accustomed to occupy ther people in fishyng, as in Iseland, Norwaye, Shetland for lyng,

stockfish, muddfish, codd, and all a long the costes of england, as first the north sea fishyng for salmon, mylwyn and codd, the costes of Norfolk for herryng and Suffolk for mackerell, the streates for mackrell and whytyng, the cost of sussex and hampshyre for Congar, the south west seas for pilchard, whytyng and hake, and so forth rovnd abovt the rest of the costes of wales and england, and vppon the costes of Irland was heretofore a great haunt of takyng of hake, myllwyn, codd, conger, salmon, all which trades ar at this tyme almost wholy possessed, even sometyme within a kennyng of our shores, by straungers that seeke pollytykly to maynteane ther marryners by such trades as be directly proffitable to them selves, and only hurtfull to there neighbors; wher contrarely the trade of bryngyng excess of wynes is only hurtfull to vs that occupy it, and beneficiall to our neighbors with perill of our selves. And to express this more particularly yarmouth fishyng is yerly occupyed by 600 flemmynges and frenchmen. The northwest fishyng is also vsurped by 400 flemmynges and some french. The fishyng in the narrow seas by french; the western fishyng for hakes and pilchardes by a great navy of the french; the fishyng about wales by french. The north partes of Irland, which within these x yeres was in the occupation, and specially the banne was in firme of merchantes of Chester, and now both the herryng and salmon fishyng ther is in the handes of Scottes; and the south part of Irland is yerly fished by the spanyardes. So as, to conclude this article, England is besegeed and deprived round about by straungers of the substance of the sea fishyng, being as it appereth by Godes ordonnance peculiarly gyven to the same, and more regard had how to entyce merchantes and marrynors to a furder trade to employe them selves to carry our treasor into france, and for them to overburden the realme with wyne, than to recover our auncient naturall and proffittable possession of the rychess of our owne seas and at our doores. In which kynd of trade men ar made metar to abyde stormes and become comen marynors, than by saylyng in shippes to Roone or burdeax.

Secondly, it is manifest that by makyng of the statut in King Edward the 6 tyme the navy is not decayed: for, first, the port towns of the realm war decayed almost xx yers before, and if

lack of bryngyng in of wynes at this tyme doo decaye shippes, what is to be sayd of lx yeres or 1^{c} past whan the portes wer better furnished of shippes and marryners and yet not one half of the wyne vttred or dronk in this realm that now is? And though it nedeth no prooffe to shew that more wynes is dr[u]nk now than in former tymes, yet lett all men that kepe housholdes remembre whyther comonly they spend not more wynes than ther grandfathers, yea, percase than them selves within xij yeres. Lett all noble men compare ther howshold bookes with ther auncestors, and it will be as manifest as can be that england spendeth more wynes in one yere whylest this statute hath remayned than it did in auncient tyme in foore yers. So as, to conclude, it is not mete to seke the increass of the navy by increass of wyne, wher allredy the excess is to mutch. Wherfor all other wayes wold be sought to norrish marryners and to increass shippes, and as it is trew that manny westarn touns ar decayed, as bristoll and such lyke, so [it] is not to be forgotten whyther London hath not engrossed all ther trades, not so much for wynes but even for the welsh frezees that com over the severn not farr from bristow.

[*Endorsed*] Inconveniences by bringing in of quantity of wynes.

11. PIRACY AND LETTERS OF MARQUE, 1593.

[Acts of the Privy Council, Vol. XXIV., pp. 164-65.]

A letter to the Judge of the Admyraltie. Whereas we did recommende unto you the peticion of one John Petite, owner of a shipp called the Elizabeth of London and of Charles Faith of London, merchante, togeather with certaine deposicions taken testefieng the losses and damages sustained by them in the takinge of theire shipp and goods by certaine shippes of warre of the towne of Newhaven, to be examined and considered of by you and Mr. Doctor Awbrey. Wherein it seemeth you have taken some paines, and by your reporte it doth appeare that you do finde it proved that upon the seconde day of December laste one Olive of Newhaven, captaine of a ship called the St. Andrew of

Newhaven, accompanied with sixe other shippes of warre of that towne, violentlie did enter upon the coaste of Englande thwarte of Portlande the saide ship called the Elizabeth of London, saylinge outward towardes Ligorne in Italy, apperteyninge to the saide Petite, valued with her tackles and furniture at viij^{c} *li.*, laden with 700 barrells of redd hearinges of the value of 840 *li.*, 315 pigges of leade of the value of 194 *li.*, 2 *s.* 9 *d.*, 30 barrells of tynn valued at 204 *li.* xij *s.* vij *d.*, one hogshead of sondry wares and a barrel of starche worthe 20 *li.*, apperteyninge to the said Faithe and the other of his company, and that the Frenche pirate caried the shipp and hearinges to Rosco in Brytany and there made sale thereof as good pryze, and brought from thence to Newhaven in theire owne shippes the leade, tynn and other wares, togeather with the apparell, money and fewell of the master, to the value of xxvij *li.* or thereaboutes, and sold the same openlie in the towne of Newhaven as good prize only for that it appertained to Englishmen. In regarde of theis theire losses and theire humble suite, proofe being dulie made thereof before you, the Judge of the Admyraltie, wee do thincke it greate reason and so do require you to graunte unto the aforesaide suppliantes a comyssion out of the Courte of the Admyraltie accordinge to your owne opinion and Mr. Doctour Awbreye certefied joinctlie unto us, to seaze and staie the goods of any Leaguers either by lande or by sea to the like value of theire losses, and to cause the same to be trulie inventoried and certefied unto you.

12. SHIP MONEY LEVIED ON INLAND TOWNS, 1596.

[Acts of the Privy Council, Vol. XXV., pp. 237-38, 492-93.]

[25 February, 1596.] A letter to the Bailifs, etc., of Tewkesbury. Whereas her Majestie hath thowght yt very expedient forthwith to set to seas her Navy Royall for the defence of her realm, and for the better execucion hereof hath given order to sondry of her subjects to furnish owt and put in readines a convenient nomber of ships to attend on her said Navy, of which nomber of ships the citty of Bristoll is to prepare three, and in

contribucion to this charge the Maiour and Aldermen of the cittie of Gloucester are required and have yeilded to contribute two hundred pounds, which wowld be overburthensom for them to bear but by th' assistance of that town of Tewkesbury, which taketh benefite by trafficke to the seas and not far from the port of Gloucester, and therefore [ought] to yeild supply herein as uppon like occacions yt formerly hath don in the year 1588. Wee have therefore thowght good and accordingly do require you forthwith to impoze and levie of th' inhabitantes of that town of Tewksbury the somme of fortie pounds, and the same withowt delay to pay to the hands of the Maiour of Gloucester towards the making up of the said somme of two hundred pounds, which wee doubt not but you will have care forthwith to accomplish, that the intended service be not throwgh your default hindred, being of so great importaunce and concerning the safetie of your selfes and the realm in generall. And so, etc.

[26 June, 1596.] A letter to the Mayour of Bristoll. Whereas you have made complaint unto us by those whome you have appoynted to sollicite us in your behalf that unto the greate charges you have borne in settinge foorth certaine shippes (as was required of you heeretofore by our letters) to attend her Majesty's Navie Royall now at the seas, diverse persons refuse to yeald any contribucion, of whome the same have beene dulie and justlie demaunded, and especiallie certaine gentlemen and gentlewomen widdowes that havinge landes abroade in the countrie do inhabite within your cittie, and keepe howses there (as it seemeth) to avoyde the charge of the ordinary services of the countrie. Forasmuch as we thinck it verie meete and reasonable that you should have the assistance in the bearing of this charge of all the inhabitantes in your cittie that are of any good habilitie, and that suche persons are least of all to be excused that make their habitacion there serve them for a shifte to avoyde any goode service for her Majestie, we do therefore will and require you and by theis our letters authorize you to demaund and receave a reasonable contribucion of all suche persons inhabiting in your towne, be they esquires, gentlemen, widdowes of gentlemen or of citizens that are left of good estate and

habilitie, ratinge their howses according to the rente of the same if they pay rent for their howses, or if they dwell in howses of their owne free holde, according to a valuacion of a reasonable yearely rent if the said howses were to be lett, and uppon an estimate of suche rent to require payment of them toward the charges of your citie aforesaid in like sort and rate as if they were to be charged for the same value uppon their landes and dwellinges in the countrie. Whereunto if they refuse to yeald, you shall do well to certefie us of them, and to let them know from us that we will not faile to take order to reforme their disobedience. And so, etc.

13. PARLIAMENTARY INTEREST IN THE UPKEEP OF DOVER HAVEN, 1601.

[H. Townshend, Historical Collections or an exact Account of the Proceedings of the Four last Parliaments of Q. Elizabeth (1680), pp. 308-9, 323.]

[Thurs., Dec. 10.] Mr Swale said; 'There was a Doubt, whether the Tax for Dover-Haven should be continued by force of the Statute; the Tax is of Three Pence a Tun for the burthen of every Ship: He said, That the Seamen and Merchants, for want of sufficient maintenance, were turned to Fisher-men. And the Fisher-man, if he made but two Tuns of Trayn-Oyl with the Blubber of New-found-Land Fish, this causes the Ship to be Taxed for the whole Burthen; which is grievous to the Subject: Much Money hath been Levied, it comes to at least One Thousand Marks a Year, and the Haven never the better. Nay, Mr Speaker, it is grown into a Proverb, If a Tax be once on foot, God sheild it continues not as Dover-Haven.'

Mr Boys said: 'There was great Reason to continue the Tax, in respect of the continual maintenance of the Haven, which is the best in England for all Necessities: It will ship as many men in three hours, as any other Haven in a day. And he said, That besides former Expences, there is now above Four-Hundred-Pounds-worth of Stones for the Reparation thereof ready upon the Haven.'

Sir John Fortescue said: 'The Proverb is, *Tractent fabrilia fabri.* The Gentleman that first spake, had not so good Instructions, as he might have had: There be Brew-houses and Bake-houses for the Provision of Victuals for Shipping; the Haven will receive Ships of Three Hundred Tuns, and is most necessary for the passing of all Merchants: The Tax is small, and times may be when the Haven shall need a great Tax at one time; And if this should be taken away, what then? And therefore I think it most fit to be Continued.'

Mr. Comptroller said: 'Me thinks we take a very Imprudent Course, to go about this present, to take away a Tax which maintains Dover-Haven: We are now in Dispute, how to defend our selves from the Dunkirkers, and to strengthen our own Havens. If we take away this Tax, we shall weaken this Haven, which is the most necessary Haven of England, and therefore, I would wish no man to wrong the State so much, and to be so respectless of the Good of the Navy, by speaking out of any particular humor of his own.'

Sir Walter Rawleigh said: 'There be divers Havens which have been Famous, and are now gone to Decay, as Tynmouth, and Setow, and Winchelsey; Rye is of little Receipt; Sandwich, (as a Burgess of that Town said this Parliament, Mr Peake) is even a going. The Tax being imployed as it should be, I hold it both good and necessary; and there is no Trade of Fisher-men to Newfound-land, but by this Haven of Dover, which if the Tax be taken away, and that go to Decay, Her Majesty shall lose one of the best, and most necessary Havens of England, which hath all the Commodities that Mr. Chancellor shewed, and lieth opposite to all our Enemies Countries, who may soon be with us, and we not able to resist them and help our selves, should we want this Haven. I think it therefore fit this matter should be Considered of, and Committed; And so it was.'

[Monday, Dec. 14.] Mr. Francis Moore brought in the Bill for continuance of some Statutes, and Repeal of some others, with two Provisoes touching Dover-Haven, (and the longer was accepted). I leave it, quoth he, to the Consideration of the House, to take whether they list, or to refuse both. . . .

Mr Secretary Cecil said: 'If ever there was a time to look

to the Ports and Havens, it is now. If you remember, what place is *Ex opposito* to Dover, what Neighbours we have, and how greatly the Haven doth stand us in stead, I believe you would be more willing to add, than to take any thing away from the maintenance thereof. I wish therefore, to end this Controversy, that this may be the Question, Whether of these two Provisoes shall be added to the Law? But I think the greatest is best, and largest, and I should be loth to Detract any thing from that Contribution: So the greater was taken.'

SECTION III.—CREDIT AND MONEY LENDING.

1. FICTITIOUS CONTRACT MADE TO CONCEAL USURY, *temp.* EDWARD IV.

[Early Chancery Proceedings, Bdle 37, No. 38.]

To the right reverent Fader in god the Archebisshop of York and Chaunceller of Englond.

Mekely besecheth your gracious lordship Robert Richeman, that where he for his relyfe beyng in grete nede and povyrte cam to oon Stephyn Bramden of Wynchester and desired of the same Stephyn in the way of charite to lene to your seid Oratour v *li.* to a certeyn day nowgh past, and the same Stephyn Bramden, understondyng the nede of your seid Oratour, and that he was lykly to be cast into that lamentabull mysery of lakkyng his sustynaunce, uterly denyed to lend to your seid Oratour one penny, one lesse than your seid Oratour wold assent to geve to the same Stephyn unlawfull gayne for the lone of the forceid v *li.* And your seid Oratour by the cohercionn of grete nede and poverte graunted to doo and fulfill all that that shuld be desired by the same Stephyn Brandon [*sic*], trustyng alway that the same Stephyn in conclucion wold no thyng take but as good conscience requyred. And after the same Stephyn Brandon, only to colour his seid unlawfull gayne for the lone of the seid v *li.*, desired a payer of Endentures to be made betwene hym and your seid Oratour, by the whiche endentures it is specified that the same Stephyn Brandon hath let to ferme to your seid Oratour c Shepe for the terme of v yeres, reservyng yerly xx *s.* to the same Stephyn duryng the terme of v yeres. And it is also conteyned in the same Endenture that your seid Oratour at the yend of the same v yeres shall pay to the forseid Stephyn v *li.* of lawfull

money for the seid c shepe. And it was farther devysed by the same Stephyn that your seid Oratour and a nother person with hym shuld be bound by Obligacion to the same Stephyn in the somme of x *li.* to fulfill truly all thynges conteigned and specified in the forseid Endentures, of the which Endentures your seid Oratour in his grete nede sealed one parte. And also he and oone Nicholas Faukener were bound by Obligacion to the seid Stephyn in x *li.* to fulfill all thyng conteyned in the seid Endenture. And after the seid writynge in fourme forseid made, sealed and delyvered, the seid Stephyn lent to your seid Oratour v *li.* And howe be it, gracious lord, that your seid Oratour had never shepe, mony, ware of the seid Stephyn Brandon, but oonly v *li.*, the which v *li.* your seid Oratour hath truly content and paied to the forseid Stephyn; yet the same Stephyn seieth that he woll have v *li.* more for the lone of the forseid v *li.*, or elles he will sue the forseid Obligacion of x *li.* ayenst your seid Oratour, which is contrarie to all good conscience; nevyrtheles by the comenn lawe your besecher hath no remedie in the premysses. Therfor please your gracious lordship, the premysses consydered, to graunt a writte of subpena to be directed to the seid Stephyn Brandon, commaundyng hym by the same to appere byfore the Kyng in his Chauncery at a certeyn day by you lymytted, ther to be reuled as right and conscience requyreth: this for the love of god and in the way of charite.

plegii de prosequendo { Thomas Farley de Londonn, mercer.
Willelmus Edyng de eadem, Grocer.

2. A WOOL STAPLER ON HIS EXCHANGE TRANSACTIONS, 1479.

[The Cely Papers, ed. H. E. Malden (Camden Soc., 1900), pp. 17-18.]

Jhesu m^{l}iiij^{c}lxxix.

I grete you wyll and ye schall understand I have resayvyd be excheaunge of John Hosyer mercer of London a c$^{li.}$ ster., I for to paye to John Hosyer in marte ix$^{s.}$ vj$^{d.}$ for every vj$^{s.}$ viij$^{d.}$ ster., and I schall delyver to John Hossyer anoder c$^{li.}$ ster., ix$^{s.}$ vj$^{d.}$ for every vj$^{s.}$ viij$^{d.}$ ster. and iiij monthes day after the resayvyng in

the marte, for the weche c$^{li.}$ ster. ye schall have a lecter of payment of John Hossyer to be payd to me at London in Octobor next com; and soe I have wryt a lecter of payment and derckyt to you some ij c$^{li.}$ ster. for to paye in thys synschon marte to John Hossyer in thys manar forme befor wryt, for the weche I praye you se in my lecter be wyll payd, for I have bude me streydly for the payment there of. Also I schall payd to Rychard Haynys mercer of London for John Perys of Norlache more than lx$^{li.}$ ster., for the weche Rychard Haynys mercer wyll have money of me in thys synchon marte be exchaunge as the markyt gothe; and I have promysyd ye schall delyver hym lyke as ys man and ye can agree in the marte, for that schall be good payment for me in October or Novembor and it be lxxx$^{li.}$ or c$^{li.}$ ster. Thomas Cryspe hathe spoke to me for have xl$^{li.}$ or l, for the weche I wyll ye delyver to Rychard Cryspe ys son as ye can agree in the marte. I wyll be glade and ye can resayve my money and delyver yt be excheunge to sure men, for I wyll nat schepe tyll I have my money hom in lecters of payment, be the dayys ner so long. By for me v c or vj c baras [Arras] canvase for to packe woll wyt; Robard Bereke wyll helpe yow to bye hyt. I wyll no more but Jhesu kepe you. Wryt at London the xxj day of May. At wrytyng of thys be in goode elle at Brytys Plase in Eseykys.

per Rychard Cely.

[*Addressed:*] To George Cely at Caleys thys lecter delyver.

3. 'AN ACTE AGAYNST USURY AND UNLAWFULL BARGAYNES' (3 HENRY VII., c. 6), 1487.

[Stats. of the Realm, Vol. II., pp. 514-15.]

For somoch as ymportable damages, losses and empoverysshyng of this realme ys had by dampnable bargayns groundyt in usurye, colorde by the name of newe Chevesaunce, contrarie to the lawe of naturell justis, to the comen hurt of this land, and to the greate displesur of God: the Kyng for the reformacion therof and of all corrupt and unlefull bargaynes, by the assent of the Lordes Spirituell and Temporell and the Comens in this present parlyament assembled, and by the auctorite of the same,

ordyneth and enacteth that yff herafter eny bargayne, covenaund by bying of eny obligacion or bill or by eny pleg put for suertie or by bill or otherwise, by the name of drye exchaunge or otherwyse, wherby eny certeyn somme shall be lost by eny covenaund or promys betwyx eny persone or persones, by theym selfe or eny other to their knowleg within this realme, or of eny bargayne or lone wherby eny of the partes shall lose or paye for eny somme certen, that ys to say for havyng C *li.* in money or in merchandys or otherwyse, and therfor to pay or to find suertie to pay vj^{xx} *li.* or more or lesse in and for eny more or lesse somme after eny maner rate, that all such bargeyns, covenandes, promys and suertes therfor made, and all thyng therof dependyng, be utterly voide and of none effecte.

And over this that yt be ordyned by the same auctorite, that yff eny merchaundyses, oblygacions, billes or plate be promysed to be delyvered uppon such corrupt bargayns, and never delyvered, or delyvered and had ageyn to hym that ought such merchaundises, obligacions, billes or plate, or knoweth by eny other man by assent, agrement [or] knowleg in eny maner forme of hym or his factour or broker that such merchaundises ought and ar preve to suche bargayns, that all such bargayns, covenandes, promysses and all suerties therfor made be utterly voide; and seller and owner, bargayner or promyser of such corrupte bargayns or goodes lease for every such bargayne made by hym or hys factour C *li.*, and who so ever will sue therfor to have an accion of dette, in which the party shall not wage hys lawe, the Kyng to have the one halfe and he that will sue the oder halfe.

And for somoche as theies corrupt bargaynes be most usually hadde within Citees and Burghes, havyng auctoritie to trye all maters and causes growen and had within the same Citees and Burghes, and yff eny suche defautes shuld ther be tryed, perjurie by lykelynesse therby shuld growe and lytell of the premesses to be founde, Therfor yt be ordeigned by the seid auctorite that aswell the Chaunceller of Inglond for the tyme beyng have auctorite and power to examyn all maner corrupt bargayns, promyses, lones or sales growen and hadde of eny of the premysses, and theruppon by hys examinacion to here and determyne the same, and to geve lyke jugement and make lyke execucion

theroff, as the mater ware tried and founde at the parties sute in any such accion of dette by course of the comen lawe, as the Justices of the peas of any Shire next adjoynyng to eny Cite or Burgh where such deffautes be, of eny of the premysses, and they to make lyke processe ayenst eny man therof indyted afore theym of eny of the premysses, as they shuld or owe to doo ayenst eny man that were indyted afore theym of eny ryote or trespas, and to determyne yt; and yff eny man be founde gyltie afore theym of eny of the premysses to forfeite the forseid payne of C *li.:* reservyng to the Church, this punysshement notwithstondyng, the Correccion of their Soulles accordyng to the lawes of the same.

4. A DISREPUTABLE FAMILY, 1513.

[Act Book of the Ecclesiastical Court of Whalley, 1510-38, ed. A. M. Cooke (Chetham Soc., Vol. XLIV., 1901), pp. 15-16.]

Visitacio siue Capitulum generale celebrata in Ecclesia parochiali de Whalley, xiij° die mensis Aprilis anno domini millesimo quingentesimo xiij°, Coram Christofero Smythe tunc Commissario ipsam actualiter excercente.

. . . . . .

Rossendale

Oliuerius Butterworthe, Robertus Hepe, Edmundus Shaw, Henricus Grevez } Jurati presentant quod Alexander Lorde decessit et Testamentum ipsius nondum probatur.

Item quod Willelmus Marcroft est communis vsurarius quia mutuatur x *s.* Laurencio Hoht et recepit vltra sortem medium farme.

Dimittuntur et debent feodum dimissionis et dictus Willelmus constituit se soluturum—vj *d.* die mercurii proximo post Festum sancti Barnabe.

Item quod Alicia filia prefati Willelmi violatrix est Sabbati, et pinsuit panem ordeacium in die penthecostes vltimo elapso et ventilauit Granum eodem die.

Edwardus Filius dicti Willelmi fecit vnam Camisiam in die omnium sanctorum.

5. VAUGHAN'S ACCOUNT OF THE CROWN'S DEBTS ABROAD AND OF THE CONDITION OF THE ANTWERP MONEY-MARKET, 1546.

[S.P. Hen. VIII., Vol. CCXXIII., f. 101.]

Pleaseth it your right honorable lordships to be aduertisyd, how I haue Receyuyd by Nicolas, the Kinges Maiestes post, your lordships letter of the viij of this present, by whiche your honors signyfie at what tymes the same haue appoynted as well the strangers as Englishe marchauntes to make payement of such money as the Fugger shuld haue in this present monethe; bysydes that your honors gave me commaundement at the daye to begyn to make payment to the Fugger and to use therin no mo handes then were usyd in the Recept of the Fuggers money, so as the payment maye be prolonged till suche tyme as I shalbe furnysshed with tyme for the satisfaccion of the debt. For answer wherunto it maye please your right honorable lordeships to vnderstand that for asmuch (like as I lately signyfyed vnto the same) as the merchauntes estrangers haue made theyr money from lyons by exchaunge paiable by the Fugger evyn at the same daye whereat the Kinges maieste debt ys payable unto hym, there ys no Waye to be dyvisyd to haue yt out of his handes to be payd to me, and therfore that money, as it shall not be payde to me, so can yt not occupie any tyme at all, in payment to hym, sith he payeth hym self therwith. I haue in Redy money Receyvid of the Kinges maiestes marchauntes aboutes xxv^{m} *li.* flem[ish] due by theyr billes payable in June last, in payment wherof I woll drawe out the tyme asmuch as ys possible. And like as I lately signyfied unto your honors, and to Sir William Paget also, all the money that both I now have by me and that also that is exchaunged with the Bonvyc, Bartilmew compaigny, Thomas Cavalcanti and John Gyralde, with that also that ys prolonged with the Fugger and appoynted to be payd by Erasmus Schetz, woll not satisfie thonly debt of the Fugger due in this present month.

There is owing to the Fugger in this month clij^{m} ciiij^{xx} *li.* flem.

Towardes the payment and satisfaccion of the which, together with the prolongacion of lx^{m} *li.* flem., this following ys thorder that your honors haue taken.

I haue and must Receyve of the Kinges Maiestes marchantes for theyr debt payable in June last } xxv^{m} *li.* flem.

Of theyr debt payable in September next I wryte nothing, bycause I cannot therwith pay the Fugger.

I haue of the marchauntes estrangers payable the xx of this month xlvj^{m} iiij^{c} *li.* flem. } xlvj^{m} iiij^{c} *li.* flem.

I haue to answer the Fugger with for this tyme lx^{m} *li.* flem. by your honours prolonged in England. } lx^{m} *li.* flem.

I haue to answer also the Fugger with by your honors order taken with the some of Erasmus Schetz. } xx^{m} *li.* flem.

Summa totalis clj^{m} iiij^{c} *li.* flem.

So wantethe there to paye the hole debt due and owing in this monthe of August vij^{c} iiij^{xx} *li.* flem.

Then haue I that I Receyvyd from Mr. Dymok for the sale of corne m vj^{c} and one *li.* flem.

I haue also Receyued this daye for the sale of the corne which was lately arrested at Camfyre c iiij^{xx} and one *li.* flem.

Thus appereth it that, the Fugger being payde, I shall haue on my handes but a small rest at this tyme.

By my lettres lately wrytten to your honors I haue signyfied what other Somes of money the Kinges Maieste oweth, which I shall eftsones signyfie ageyn, to thintent the same maye geve order for the payment therof.

There ys owing to Jeronimo and Mighel Dyodacy the v of September next upon the credence of Antony Bonvyc xxx^{m} Crownes of vj *s.* the crown some } ix^{m} *l.* flem.

Ther ys also owing to Baldassar Guynygy and John Balbany the xv of September next vpon the credence of Antony Vivald and Arrego Salvago xx^{m} crownes of vj *s.* the crown. } vj^{m} *l.* flem.

Ther ys also owing to Bartilmew Compaigny the xv of October next by your honors prolonged 3 months from the xv of July last to the sayd xv of October next, bysydes thinterest for the prolongacion of the sayd some for 3 monthes } vj^{m} *l.* flem.

Ther ys owing to John Carolo the xv of October next upon the credence of John Gyrald prolonged from the xv of Aprell last to the xv of October next, which ys vi monthes — vj^{m} *li.* flem.

Summa of all this debt due in September and October next. — xxvij^{m} *li.* flem.

Towardes the payment of this some your honors have gevyn order that the Kynges Maiestes marchauntes shall paye the xv of September next xv^{m} *li.* sterling, which maketh after the Rate of xxv *s.* flem. for the pounde sterling the somme of xviij^{m} vij^{c} l. *li.* flem.

And so wanteth to paye the Kinges Maiestes debt due in September and October next — viij^{m} ij^{c} l. *li.* flem.

And yet do I not se how the Kinges Maiestes marchauntes shalbe able to paye theyr money in ij monthes after theyr daye, money ys here so hard to com by.

It maye please your honors to note that, where there ys owing to Jeronymo Diodaci the v of September next and to baldassar Guynygi and John Balbani the xv of September next betwene them xv^{m} *li.* flem., towardes theyr satisfacion the Kynges Maiestes marchauntes begyn not to paye till the xv of September, who, as I saye, woll not be able to paye in two monthes after.

Upon the complaint of some person made to the Lady Regent, who I thinke fyndyng evyn now a great lack of money emonges the marchauntes, and specially of the valued gold coyned by themperors maieste in these partes, her grace hath sent down a charge to this town to have all the bookes of the brokers of exchaunge in this town brought foorthe, to thintent a view maye be taken to whose handes the sayd valued gold hath from tyme to tyme byn payd, vpon view wherof it ys certeyn that all those marchauntes that haue Receyved valued gold maye answer how they haue bestowed, payed or other wyse employed the same. Some marchauntes estrangers heryng of this, which haue byn conveyers of valued gold out of these partes, are fledd, and many ar like to be in great trowble therfore. Truthe yt ys, like as I lately signyfied to your honors, that all nacions here, feoryng thissue of these warres presently in hande betwene themperors maieste and the protestantes, in which they se a more perell

towardes themperor then they dare eyther saye or reporte, haue made a waye theyr money out of these contreys, some to Lyons, some to Italy, some to Venyce, some to Englond, and some otherwayse. Now (as I gesse) Jasper Dowche, who hath alwayse had charge to furnysshe themporors maieste of money in this town, appercyving a great want and lacke of money, and that he fyndeth not men willing in this daungerous warre of themperor to emprunpt money to themperors Maieste, seyng he hath alwayse bosted to the quene that he wold alwayse fynde meanes that themperor should never want money emonges the marchauntes of the burse, and appercyveth that now he ys not able to kepe towch with themperor, for his fayned excuse peraduentur enfourmeth the quene her grace that English marchauntes and others haue conveyed out of these partes the most parte of all the valued gold that was to be founde here. Vpon which he hath cawsyd the quene to geve order and charge here to haue the brokers of exchaunges bookes seen, by sight whereof many men ar like to be trowbled; for, as I also signyfied to your honors, this town was full of Angell nobles, which brought a great suspicion that men had conveyed much valued gold into England and conveyed hether ageyn Angell nobles. This hath byn told the quene, and vpon that I feared leste her grace wold eyther forbyd the paying and Receyving of Angelles and English crow[nes], orelles upon great paynes call down theyr pryses, which yet I loke for. And this was the cawse why long before I Refusyd to take Angelles or crow[nes] of the Rose of the Kinges Maiestes merchauntes, lest when I had them I shuld not paye them out ageyn. I toke in the begynnyng aboutes vj or viij^{c} *li.* flemish in Angelles and crownes of the Rose, which I doubt much I shall not be able to paye out ageyne, and other money ys there not almost to be had here; no man woll here paye any other money to thenglish merchantes, and they ageyn refuse to take them of English men ageyn.

Of the Fuggers new obligacions for the prolongacion of lx^{m} *li.* flem., your honors wryte nothing where they be becom; bycause your honors wrott that I shuld Receyve them I lokyd to haue had them by the xv of this month, but bycause they com not I am dryven to think your honours haue dylyueryd them to the

Fuggers factor in london, or to some other body. Yt maye please your right honorable lordshipes to lett me know thereof for the having out of the Fuggers handes of thold obligacions. . . .

. . . . . .

Your lordships humble and bounden
Vaughan.

[*Endorsed*] To the right honorable lordes, my lordes of the Kinges Maiestes most honorable Cownsail.

Vaughan to the counsaill xij August 1546.

6. "A BYLL AGAINST USURIE" (5 & 6 EDWARD VI. C. 20), 1552.

[Stats. of the Realm, Vol. IV., Pt. I., p. 155.]

Where in the xxxvijth yere of the Reigne of the late King of famous memorye King Henry theight, father to our Soveraigne Lorde the King that now is, amongest other Actes and Statutes then made, it was enacted[1] by auctoritye of Parlament that no parsone or parsons, at anny tyme after the last daye of January in the saide xxxvijth yere, sholde have, receive, accept or take in lucre or gaynes, for the Lone, forbearing or giving daye of payment of anny somme of moneye for one hole yere above the somme of tenne pownde in the hundred, and so after that rate and not above of and for a more or lesse somme or for a longer or shorter tyme, uppon the paynes and forfaitures in the saide Acte mentyoned and conteyned; The which Acte was not ment or intended for mayntenaunce and allowaunce of Usurie, as dyvers parsons, blynded with inordinat love of themselfes, have and yet doo mistake the same, but rather was made and intendid against all sortes and kyndes of Usurie as a thing unlawfull, as by the tytle and preamble of the saide Acte it doth playnely appeare, And yet nevertheles the same was by the saide Act permitted for the avoyding of a more yll and inconvenyence that before that tyme was used and exercysed; But Forasmuche as Usurie is by the worde of God utterly prohibited, as a vyce moste odyous and detestable, as in dyvers places of the hollie Scripture it is evydent to be seen, which thing by no godly teachinges and perswations can syncke in to the hartes of dyvers

[1] 37 Henry VIII. c. 9.

gredie, uncharitable and couvetous parsons of this Realme, nor yet by anny terrible threatninges of Goddes wrathe and vengeaunce that justly hangeth over this Realme for the great and open Usurie therein dailye used and practysed they will forsake such filthie gayne and lucre, onles some temporall punishment be provyded and ordeyned in that bihalfe: For Reformacion wherof, Be it enacted by thauctoritie of this present Parlament, That from the firste daye of Maye which shalbe in the yere of our Lorde God a thousande fyve hundred fiftie and twoo, the saide Acte and Statute concerning onely Usurie, Lucre or Gaynes of or for the Lone, forbearing or geving dayes of anny somme or sommes of moneye, be utterly abrogate, voyde and repealed.

And furthermore be it enacted by thauctoritye aforesaide, that from and after the saide first daye of Maye next comminge, no parsone or parsons of what Estate, degree, qualitie or condicion so ever he or they be, by anny corrupt, colourable or disceitfull conveyaunce, sleight or engyne, or by anny waye or meane, shall lende, give, sett owte, delyver or forbeare anny somme or sommes of moneye, to anny parsone or parsons, or to anny Corporacion or Bodie Politike, to or for anny manner of Usurie, encreace, lucre, gayne or interest to be had, receyved or hoped for, over and above the somme or sommes so lent, given, sett owt, delyvered or forborne; uppon payne of forfaiture the valewe aswell of the somme or sommes so lent, given, sett owt, delyvered or forborne, as allso of the Usurie, encreace, lucre, gayne or interest thereof, and allso uppon payne of emprysonement of the bodye or bodyes of every such offendour or offendours, and allso to make fyne and rawnsome at the Kinges will and pleasure; the moytie of which forfaiture of the saide vallewe shalbe to the King, and thother moitye to the partie that will sue for the same in anny of the Kinges Courtes of Recorde by actyon of Debte, Bill, Playnte or Informacion, wherin no wager of Lawe, Essoyne or Protectyon shalbe allowed or admitted.

7. GRESHAM'S INSTRUCTIONS ON BEING SENT INTO SPAIN, 1554.

[J. W. Burgon, The Life and Times of Sir Thomas Gresham (1839), Vol. I., pp. 472-75.]

A memoriall gyven by the Quene's hyhnes vnto hir trusty and welbeloved servaunt Thomas Gresham, esquier, hir Majestie agent in Flanders, for the purposes ensuing, xii° Junii, 1554.

Fyrst, where as the sayd Thomas Gresham hath for vs, and to our use, bargayned with dyvers persones in Andwerpe for sundrie sumes of monny, for which he hath receyved theyr bylls of exchange to be payd in Spaine—that is to say, of Anthony Fugger the sume of cxiim viic l. ducats, to be receyved at the fayre of Villalon lxijm ducats, and the reste in the fayre of May; of Jasper Schetz and his bretherne the sume of lxvm ducats, to be receyved in the fayre of October; more of the sayd Schetz and his bretherne the sume of xxxvm ducats, to be receyved in the fayre of Villalon; of Octavian Lomelino, the sume of xxxijm ducats, to be receyved at the fayre of Villalon xxiijm ducats, and the rest in the fayre of May; of John de Mantansse, the sume of xvm ducats, to be receyved in the fayre of Villalon; of John Lopez de Gallo the sume of xxiiijm ducats, to be received in the fayre of Villalon; of Anthony Spynnole and Frederigo Imperialle the sume of xviim ducats, to be received in the fayre of May: amounting in the hole to the totall sum of iijc thowsand vijc l. ducats. The sayd Thomas Gresham, taking with hym this memorial, and themperors letters of license, with suche other things as ar prepared for hym, shall for the receipt of the sayd money make his repayre with as convenient spede as he may towards Spaine; embarking hymselff at our ports either of Darmouth or Plimouth, where we have caused a vessel to be put in a redynes for his transportacion; from whence he shall procede on his voyage as sone as wynde and wether shall gyve hym leave.

And for the better and more surer conveyance hither owt of Spaine of the sayd money, our pleasure is that the sayd Thomas Gresham shall, before his departure, common with suche marchaunts in London, ether Englyshemen or straungers, as doo

trafficque in to Spaine; procuring, yf he by any meanes may, to bargayne with them or any of them for the delyvery here vnto our vse of suche sumes of money as they shall have occasion to employe in Spayne: whiche shall be there by hym repayed againe vnto them owt of the said mony that is to be receyved to our vse, foreseing that we be not of this bargaine burdened with any losse of exchange or interest.

Item, at his coming in to Spayne, in caase our dearest cousin the Prince of Spaine shall not be departed from thence before the money that is fyrst payable shall be receyved, the sayd Thomas Gresham shall then conferre with our right trusty and right welbeloved cousin and counsellour the Earle of Bedforde, keper of our privie seale, and opening vnto hym the hole circumstance of this matter, shall, by his advise and counsell, distribute amongst the best and most surest shippes of the flete that shall cume in cumpany of our sayd derest cousin the Prince of Spaine, so muche of the sayd mony as he shall have receyved: so as he adventure not above the sume of fyve thowsand pounds sterling in any one botome. And yf it shall fortune our sayd dearest cousin the prince of Spaine to be come from thence before the sayd mony can be receyved, in that caase our pleasur is that the sayd Thomas Gresham procure to sende over by way of exchaunge, to be delyvered there, and repayed againe vnto us here or at Andwerpe vppon sight, so muche of our sayd mony as he can; foreseing that we be not burdened with any losse of exchaunge, and that the persones to whome the mony shalbe delyvered be sure and substanciall.

As for the rest of the sayd mony that cannot be sent over in suche sorte as is aforesayd, our pleasur is that, for the more saffer transportacion thereof, the sayd Thomas Gresham shall abyde the coming from thence of sume convenient flete of shippes, emongst the best and surest of whiche he shall distribute the rest of the sayd mony so remayning; so as he adventure not above the sum of eight thowsond pownds in any one botome; using for the convoyannce of our sayd treasure this wayes all the best meanes and pollicie that he can devise.

And finally, for as muche as we have occasion to employe sume masse of treasure within our realme of Ireland, our pleasur

is that the sayd Thomas Gresham shall devise sume good and sure way, yf he can, to send vnto our sayd realme of Ireland the sume of tenne thowsand pounds ster., to be delyvered there into thands of the deputie of our sayd realme. In whiche we wolde he employed his best industry and diligence; and bothe herein, and in the rest, to have speciall regarde, as nere as he may, to the strength of the shippes and the honnesty of the persones that shall have the conveyance of the sayd mony; vsing all the secrecie he can in the shipping and sending away thereof.

And where heretofore we appointed vnto the sayd Thomas Gresham towards his diets and entertainement in our service the sume of xx *s.* by the day, considering now that he shall by this present service be occasioned to be at sume further expence then hitherto he hath byn, we have thought convenient to enlarge his sayd diet, and to give him, till his return out of Spayne, x *s.* by the day, from the date of thes instructions, ouer and above his former dietts of xx *s.* the day: which sumes our pleasure is he shall receyve and pay to hymsellf owt of such our treasure as shall from tyme to tyme cume to his hands.

And after he shall have dispached our busines in Spaine presently committed to his charge, we ar pleased that he doo make his returne vnto our presence ether by see or by land, as may bee most for his suertye, and shall seme most convenient vnto hym.

8. GRESHAM TO QUEEN ELIZABETH ON THE FALL OF THE EXCHANGES, 1558.

[J. W. Burgon, The Life and Times of Sir Thomas Gresham (1839), Vol. I., pp. 483-86.]

Information of Sir Thomas Gresham, Mercer, towching the fall of the exchaunge, MDLVIII.

To the Quenes most excellant maiestye.

Ytt may please your majesty to understande, thatt the firste occasion off the fall of the exchainge did growe by the Kinges majesty, your latte Father, in abasinge his quoyne Frome vj ounces fine too iij ounces fine. Wheruppon the exchainge fell

Frome xxvi *s.* viii *d.* to xiii *s.* iv *d.* which was the occasion thatt all your Fine goold was convayd ought of this your realme.

Secondly, by reason off his wars, the Kinges majestie Fell into greatt debt in Flanders. And For the paymentt therof thay had no other device butt paye itt by exchainge, and to carry over his Fine gowlde For the paymentt of the same.

Thirdly, the greatt Freadome of the Stillyarde and grantinge of licence For the carringe off your woll and other comodytes ought off your reallme, which is nowe on off the cheffest pointes thatt your majestie hathe to forsee in this your comon well; thatt you neavir restore the steydes called the Stillyarde againe to ther privelydge, which hath bine the cheffest poyntte off the undoinge off this your reallme, and the marchants off the same.

Now, for redresse off thes thinges, in *an.* xv^{c}li [1551] the Kinges majestie, your latte brother, callide me to bee his agentt, and repossid a more trust in me, as well For the paymentt off his depttes beyond the seas, as For the ressynge off the exchainge—beinge then at xv *s.* and xvi *s.* the pounde, and your mony corrantt, as itt is att this presentt, beinge nott in valew x *s.* First, I practized with the Kinge and my lorde off Northomberlande to overthrowe the Stillyarde, or else ytt coulde nott be brought to passe, For thatt thay woold kepp downe the exchainge by this consideration: wher as your owne mere marchantes payeth outtwardes xiv *d.* upon a cloth custome, thay pay butt ix *d.*; and like wisse, For all such wairs as was brought into your reallme, your owne mere marchantes payeth xii *d.* upon the pounde, the Stillyarde payd butt iii *d.* upon the pounde, which is v *s.* difference uppon the hundreth: and as they wear men thatt raine all uppon the exchainge For the byenge of ther comodytes, whatt did thay passe to give a lowar price then your owne marchantes, when thaye gotte v *l.* in the hundreth by your custome; which in processe off time woulde have undone your whole reallme, and youre marchantes of the same.

Secondarely, I practissed with the Kinges majestie, your brother, to come in creditt with his owne mer marchantes; and when time servid, I practised with theme att a sett shippinge, the exchainge beinge still att xvi *s.*, thatt every man showld paye the Kinge xv *s.* upon a cloth in Anwarppe, to paye att doblle usans

xx *s.* in London; which the Kinges majestie payd theme riallye, which did amountte to the some of lx^{m} *l.* Ande so, vi monthes after, I practissed the licke upon ther comodyties For the some off lxx^{m} *l.* to paye For every pounde starlinge xxii *s.*: so by thes meanes I maide plenty off mony and scarstie, and brought into the Kinges handes, which raised the exchainge to xxiii *s.* iv *d.* And by thes meanes I did nott only bringe the Kinges majestie, your brother, outt off deptt, wherby I savide hime vi or vii *s.* upon the pounde, but savid his tresore within the reallme, as ther in Mr. Secretary Sissile was most privie unto.

Thirdly, I didd likewise cause all forraine quoynes to bee unvalewed, wherby itt might be brought into the minte to his Majesties most fordlle [*sic*]; att which time the kinge your brother dyed, and for my rewarde of servize, the Bishoppe of Winchester sought to undoe me, and whatsoever I sayd in thes matters I should not be creditted; and againste all wisdome, the sayd bishoppe went and vallewid the French crowne at vi *s.* iv *d.*, and the pistolett at vi *s.* ii *d.*, and the silver rialle at vi *d. Ob.* Wheruppon, imediattlye, the exchange fell to xx *s.* vi *d.* and xxi *s.*, and ther hath kept ever sithence. And so consequently aftire this ratte and manor, I brought the quenes majestie your sister out of debtt of the some of ccccxxxv^{m} *l.*

Fowerthlye, by this itt maye playnely appear to your hightnes, as the exchainge is the thinge that eatts ought all princes, to the wholl destruction of ther comon well, if itt be nott substantially loked unto; so likewise the exchainge is the cheffest and richist thinge only above all other, to restore your Majestie and your reallme to fine gowld and sillvar, and is the meane thatt makes all forraine comoditties and your owne comodites with all kinde of vittalles good cheapp, and likewise kepps your fine golde and sillvar with in your reallme. As, for exsample to your hightnes, the exchainge beinge att this present att xxii *s.*, all marchantes seeckes to bringe into your reallme fine gollde and silver; for if hee should deliver itt by exchainge, he disbursis xxii *s.* Flemishe to have xx *s.* sterlinge: and to bringe itt in gowlde and sillver he shall make theroff xxi *s.* iv*d.*, wherby he saves viii *d.* in the pounde: which proffitte, if the exchainge showlde kepp but after this ratte of xxii *s.*, in a fewe years you showld have a welthi

reallme, for her the treasur showld continew for ever; for thatt all men showlde finde more profytte by v *l.* in the hundreth to deliver itt by exchainge, then to carry itt over in mony. So consequenttly the higar the exchainge riseth, the mor shall your Majestie and your reallme and comon well florrish, which thinge is only keppt up by artte and Godes providence; for the quoyne of this your reallme doeth nott corresponde in finnes nott x *s.* the pounde.

Finally, and itt please your majestie to restore this your reallme into such estatt, as hertofore itt hath bine; first, your hyghtnes hath non other wayes, butt when time and opertunyty serveth, to bringe your basse mony into fine of xi ounces fine, and so gowlde after the ratte.

Secondly, nott to restore the Stillyarde to ther usorpid privelidges.

Thirdly, to grantt as fewe licences as you cane.

Fowerthly, to come in as small debtt as you can beyond seays.

Fiftly, to kepp [up] your creditt, and specially with your owne marchants, for it is thaye must stand by youe att all eventes in your necessity. And thus I shall most hombly beseech your majestie to exceptt this my [poor writing in good] partte; wherin I shall from time to time, as opertunity doeth serve, putt your hygbtnes in rememberance, accordinge to the trust your Majestie hath reposside in me; becechinge the Lorde to give me the grace and fortune thatt my servis may allwais bee exceptable to your hightnes; as knoweth our Lorde, whome preserve your noble Majestie in health, and longe to raigne over us with increasse of honor.

By your Majesties most homble
and faythefull obedientt subject

Thomas Gresham, Mercer.

9. GRESHAM TO CECIL SUGGESTING THAT THE MERCHANT ADVENTURERS SHOULD BE USED TO PAY THE QUEEN'S FOREIGN CREDITORS, 1 MARCH, 1559.

[J. W. Burgon, The Life and Times of Sir Thomas Gresham (1839), Vol. I., pp. 257-62.]

. . . It maye like your honnor to understande, that xxx^{m} *li.* sterling, aftyr xxiij *s.* iiij *d.*, makyth flemyshe xxxiiij^{m} viii^{c} xxxiij *li.* vi *s.* viii *d.* [*sic*] ; and aftyr xxiis., (as the exchange now goythe in Lombarde Streat), xxxiij^{m} *li.*: wych ys the halfe of the Quene's Majestie's detts that be owing in Aprill and May next. And for the payment thereof, and for keeping uppe of the Exchange, the Quene's Majestie hathe none other wayes and helpe but to use her Merchant adventurers. Wherein I doo right well knowe they will stande very stowte in the matter, by the reason of this new costome; as also for the xx^{m} *li.* that her Hyghnes doth owe them. Nevertheless, considering how moche yt doth import the Quene's Majestie's credit, of force she must use her Merchants; and for the compassing thereof, her highnes shall have good opportewnity both to bargayn and to bringe them to what price her Majestie and yow shall think most convenient; as the like proof was made in Kinge Edwarde her late brother's time.

First, yt is to be considered that our Inglishe marchaunts have at the least 1 or xl^{m} cloths and kerseys lying upon their hands, reddy to be shipped; whiche they will begynne to ship, when they shall knowe to what poynte they shall trust for their custome.

Secondly, this matter must be kept secreat, that yt maye not come to the marchaunts knowlege that you do intend to use them; and to laye sure wait when their last daye of shipping shall be, and to understand perfectly at the customers' hands, at the same day, whether all the cloths and kerseys be entryed and shipped and water-borne. And being once all water-borne, then to make a stay of all the fleete, that none shall depart till further the Quene's Majestie's pleasure be known.

Thyrdly, that being once done, to comande the customer to bring you in a perfect book of all such cloths, kerseys, cottons,

lead, tynne, and all other commodities, and the merchauntes' names; particularly what nomber every man hath shipped, and the just and total sum of the whole shipping. And thereby you shall know the nomber, and who be the great doers.

Forthely, apon the view of the customers' booke, you shall send for my Lord Mayre, Sir Rowlond Hill, Sir William Garrat, Sir William Chester, Mr. Alldyrman Martynne, Mr. Alldyrman Baskefylld, Lyonell Dockat, William Bowrde, Rowland Heywood, Waltyr Marller, Harry Becher [and] Thomas Ryvet: and move unto them that, 'Whereas you have shipped to the number of A, B, wyche be ready to depart to the mart, so it is that the Quene's Majestie ys indetted in Flandyrs for no small some; for the wyche yow, my Lorde Mayre and the cytty, do stand bownd for the payment thereof. And for that yt shall apere unto you that her highness ys not unmyndful for the payment of the same, [she] hath thought good to use you, (as heretofore King Edward her brother dyd): whereby the Exchange may be kept up and raised, and to inrich this realme of fine gold, here to remain; as likewise we maye have our commodities, and forrayne, at some reasonable prices. Whereby you merchants maye flourish in the commenwell, as heretofore you have done. And for the accomplyshment of the premises, the Quene's Majestie dowthe requyre at your handes to paye in Flanders xx *s.* sterling upon every cloth that ys now shipped, after the rate of 25 *s.* flemysh for the pownd sterling; and her highnes shall paye you here again at double usans. Which sum must be paid in Andwerpe; the one thyrde part the fyrst of May,—one thyrde part the 20th of May,—and the other thyrde parte the last of May.'

Upon the utterans hereof, they will grant to nothing, till that they have assembled the Company together. Now, having all their goods in the Quene's power, there ys no doubt but that her Majestie shall bring them to bargayne at such reasonable price as you and the rest of my Lords shall think convenient; wherein you may quallify the price of the Exchange as you shall think most meetest, whereby they may [be] the better willing to serve hereafter; considering how much the Quene's highness is indebted unto them alreddy. Giving your honnor to

understand I doo not so much press upon the great price, as I do at this present to bring them to make offer to her highness to serve at some reasonable price.

Finally, you maye not come lower than to have for every pound sterling, xxii *s.* Flemish (for so the Exchange passith at this present). Butt I trust yt will be at 22 *s.* 6 *d.* ere they have fynyshed their shipping. Advertising you, yf the exchange be better in Lombard Street than 22 *s.* in any wise, to make them paye aftyr that rate; or ells they do no service, but for their own lucar and gayen, wiche in no wise I will not have them accustomyd unto at the Quene's Majestie's hands.

To conclude eftsoons, yf you can bringe them to 22 *s.*, and yf the Exchange be better, according as the Exchange goeth to pay there, at the days aforesaid, and here at double usance (which ys two months), it wolle prove a more benyfycyall bargayn to the Quene's Majestie and to this her realme than I will at this present molest you withall; for it will raise the Exchange to a onnest price. As for exsampell: the Exchange in Kinge Edwarde's time (when I beganne this practisse) was but 16 *s.* Dyd I not raise it to 23 *s.*, and paid his whole detts after 20 *s.* and 22 *s.*? Wherby wool fell in price from 26 *s.* 8 *d.* to 16 *s.*, and cloths from lx *li.* a packe to xl and xxxvi *li.* a packe, wythe all other our commodities, and forrayners': whereby a nomber of clothiers gave over the making of cloths and kerseys. Wherein there was touched no man but the Merchant, for to serve the Prince's turn; which appeared to the face of the world that they were great losers; but to the contrary, in the end, when things were brought to perfection, they were great gainers thereby.

Fifthly, what bargayn soever yow do conclude with the Marchantes, to remember specially that they doo paye their mony in vallewyd money (otherwyse termyd permissyone money); for that the Queene is bounde to pay yt in vallewyd mony; wyche maye not in no wyse be forgotten. For yt may chansse to coste the Queene iii or iiii *li.* apon every hundred pownds, to come by the vallewyd money, soche scarsetty there ys thereof: wyche, in the sales of our commodytes, wolle cost the marchants nothing; for that they may sell their commodytes to pay in permyssione money for the some they shall paye for the Quene,

wyche wolle not be xx *s.* permyssion money upon every cloth. Which matter move not to the Merchants until such tyme as you have bargayned and agreed upon the Exchange; that being done, yt maye not be forgotten.

10. DRAFT OF A LETTER FROM THE QUEEN TO THE GOVERNOR OF THE MERCHANT ADVENTURERS AT ANTWERP, ON THE PAYMENT OF THE ROYAL DEBTS, 28 Aug., 1560.

[J. W. Burgon, The Life and Times of Sir Thomas Gresham (1839), Vol. I., pp. 351-52.]

By the Quene,

Trusty and well beloved, we grete you well. Whereas we have dyvers grete somes of money to be payd in the towne of Antwerp, the xvth of November and of March next, which must of necessitie, for our honor and creditt, be then payd; agaynst which tyme we cannot transport over the sum, nether in redy mony nor by Exchange, without both our losse and yours, the merchants of oure realme, by altering and abasyng of the Exchange; we have, by advise of our councell, thought it convenient to requyre you and your company of our Merchant Adventurers (having there now at this next mart, by means of quantity of cloths to be sold, grete somes of money to be receeved) to paye for us to our creditors the some of 30,000 *l.* flemish, at the sayd 15th of November; dew to such persons as our factor, Sir Thomas Gresham, knight, shall declare unto you: and other 30_m at the said xvth of March. For the which, we shall not fayle but see [you] repayd here in our citte of London, in English money, according to the Exchange, for every 25 *s.* flemish 20 *s.* English, at the manner of double usance; for the which ye shall have such assurance as ye shall conveniently require. And this, we be assured ye may doo; considering as well the great sommes of money that now shall come to your hands, as also the assured lykelihood of the dayly amendment of the Exchange, the rather by your good pollicy. Herein we make an assured account of your conformity; considering how much it toucheth our honour and reputation, and how beneficiall

it shall be to us and our realme to be out of debt there; which we most earnestly intend. And if you will take order that the younger Merchants, that have more occasion to use their money there, in returning home of the commodities of those parts, than the elder and richer, may be more easily assessed (and the rather with the great sommes), we think the burden shall be easyer, and our service the sooner accomplished. Our Factor and Agent there can best inform you how necessary it is to have this our request granted; and that we may not, without our great dishonour and discredit, have it denyed; and therefore we omitt to enlarge this matter any further unto you, requiring you therein to credit him.

11. DEBATE ON THE USURY BILL IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, 1571.

[D'Ewes, Journal (1693), pp. 171-74.]

The Bill against Usury was read the second time, whereupon ensued divers Arguments and Speeches. . . .

First one Mr. Clarke spoke to this effect, That the referring of the punishment in the Bill mentioned, being put to the Ecclesiastical Judges, for so much was nothing; for that they are to punish by the Civil Law, by the Canon Law, or by the Temporal Law. The Civil Law would not avoid them, because by that Law there is allowance of Usury. The Canon Law is abolished; and in that respect the Temporal Law saith nothing; so that the pretence may seem to be somewhat, but the effect thereby wrought is nothing; yet that it was ill, neither Christian nor Pagan ever denied. Aristotle being asked what Usury was? he said it was *praeter Naturam*, and therefore could not be defined. And Plato being asked the same Question, he said it was *idem ac hominem occidere*. St. Augustine the same; And in the very words of the Psalmist answereth to the Question, *Domine, quis habitabit in Tabernaculo tuo?* He said, *Qui curat proximo suo, non decipit eum, et qui pecuniam suam non dabit ad usuram.*

Mr. Molley first Learnedly and Artificially making an Introduction to the matter, shewed, what it might be thought on

for any man to endeavour the defence of that which every Preacher at all times, following the Letter of the Book, did speak against; yet, saith he, it is convenient, and being in some sort used, it is not repugnant to the word of God. Experience hath proved the great mischief which doth grow by reason of excessive taking, to the destruction of young Gentlemen, and otherwise infinitely: but the mischief is of the excess, not otherwise. Since to take reasonably, or so that both parties might do good, was not hurtful; for to have any man lend his money without any Commodity, hardly should you bring that to pass. And since every man is not an Occupier who hath money, and some which have not money may yet have skill to use money, except you should take away or hinder good Trades, bargaining and contracting cannot be: God did not so hate it, that he did utterly forbid it, but to the Jews amongst themselves only, for that he willed they should lend as Brethren together; for unto all others they were at large: and therefore to this day they are the greatest Usurers in the World. But be it, as indeed it is, Evil, and that men are men, no Saints, to do all these things perfectly, uprightly and Brotherly; yet *ex duobus malis minus malum eligendum;* and better may it be born to permit a little, than utterly to take away and prohibit Traffick, which hardly may be maintained generally without this.

But it may be said, it is contrary to the direct word of God, and therefore an ill Law; if it were to appoint men to take Usury, it were to be disliked; but the difference is great between that and permitting . . . a matter to be unpunished. It may be said that *Nudum pactum non parit obligationem*, but there must be somewhat given in consideration. Let be that there is nothing given of the Lenders, yet there is somewhat *simile, et omne bonum exemplum, et omnis lex in se aliquid habet mali;* for that some body shall suffer thereby. We are not, quoth he, so straitned to the word of God, that every transgression should be surely punished here. Every vain word is here forbidden by God, yet the temporal Law doth not so utterly condemn it. As for the words of the Scripture, he saith, the Hebrew soundeth thus in Answer of this Question: *Qui non dat pecuniam suam ad morsum:* so it is the biting and over-sharp dealing which is

disliked and nothing else. And this, he said, was the opinion and interpretation of the most Famous Learned Man Beza, and in these days, of Bellarmine and divers others; who say, that the true interpretation of the Hebrew word is not *Usura*, but *Morsus*.

Doctor Wilson, Master of the Requests, said that in a matter of so great weight he could not shortly speak, and acknowledging that he had throughly studied the matter, desired the patience of the House. And first he endeavoured to prove, that the common State may be without Usury; then he shewed, how even men that have been ignorant of God or his Laws, finding the evils thereof by their Laws, redressed it; and utterly prohibited the use thereof. As the Athenians caused all the Writings taken for interest money to be burnt; and the like did Lycurgus by a Law which he made, and seeing the Fire, he said, he never saw so fair a Flame as those books yielded. He then made a definition of Usury, shewing it was taking of any reward, or price or sum, over and above the due Debt. To make any thing of that which is not mine, it is robbery. Forthwith upon the delivery of the Loan money, it is not mine. And the Law is, that *Mutuum* must ever be free. And here he shewed the difference between Location and *Mutuum;* the one implying a contract, the other none. He remembered, out of Ezechiel and other the Prophets, sundry places of Scripture, and vouched St. Augustines saying, that to take but a Cup of Wine, is Usury and Damnable. This he seemed to say in Answer to that which had been before pronounced, that it was not Usury except it were *Morsus*.

He shewed, that loss may grow by Usury; first, to the Queen, then to the Common-Wealth. To the Queen in this, that men not using their own money, but finding great gain in Usury, do imploy the same that way; so that her Customs must decrease: To the Common-Wealth, for that who so shall give hire for money, is to raise the same in the sale of his Commodity. All Trades shall be taken away, all occupations lost; for most men seeking most ease, and greatest gain, without hazard or venture, will forthwith imploy their money to such use. He shewed it to be so hateful in the Judgment of the Common Law,

that an Usurer was not admitted to be a Witness, nor after his death to the common Sepulchre of Christians. And for that his discourse had been long, he inserted (as he said) this Tale for recreation of his Hearers.

In Italy, Quoth he, a great known Usurer being Dead, the Curate denied him the common place of Burial; his Friends made Suit, the Priest would not hear; in fine, the Suitors bethought them of a Policy to bring it to pass, that he might be Buried in the Church; which was this. The Parson of the Church did accustomably use to carry his Books daily from his House to the Church on his Ass; and the Ass by often going needed not to be driven, but knowing his Journey, as soon as he was laden, would of himself go to the Church Door; they desired the Parson, his Ass might carry the dead Body, and where it should stay, the Body to be Buried. To so fond a request the Priest agreed, the Body was laid on the Ass, who feeling a greater burthen than he was used to bear, did run towards the Town, never staying until he came to the common place of Execution.

This Tale merrily told, he again entred to his matter, and proved the Condemnation of Usury and Usurers, by the Authority of the Nicene and divers other Councils: He shewed that the Divines do call Usury a Spider, a Canker, an Aspis, a Serpent and a Devil; he shewed how in nature the offences of Homicide and Usury are to be compared, and by Examples proved the ruins of divers Common-Wealths, when such practices for gain are suffered, as that of the Common-Wealth of Rome, etc. The manner of Exchange now used in London, and how much abuse he shewed, a thing in old time not practised, but by the King, as in Ed. 3 time, when thereby the King obtained such Treasure, and such excessive Wealth, that it was first wondred at, then guessed that it grew by the Science of Alchymy. He here shewed the practice of the Low-Countries, of Germany, and namely the doings of Fulchers to the very beggering of great and mighty Princes; he vouched the Authority of Sir John Cheek in that place, concerning that matter; and the mind of the ancient English Law-Writers, who say that the offence of Usury in Life the Bishop is to

punish; but after his Death his Executors shall not have his goods, but they appertain *ad Fiscum*. He concluded that the offence in his Conscience should be judged Felony.

Mr. Bell said, This matter being so ample had occasioned much Speech, and was for cunning men a fit Theme to shew their Wits and skills upon. Yet, saith he, it standeth doubtful what Usury is; we have no true definition of it. And in our Laws we have little written thereon but this, *Usura non currat super Infantem*. And not much more but to Answer the Objections, where it is pretended, that the not punishing of it by the temporal Judge, may seem to be an approbation of it, or to leave it to the Church may seem as if we had no care concerning it; . . . Though he who stealeth two pence doth as well steal as he who stealeth an hundred pounds; yet there are degrees; we have *Petit Larceny*, and that which is greater; both faults, both to be punished, both to be hated; but difference there is in punishing, even according to the greatness and smallness of the offence. . . .

. . . In Answer of the Scripture, he said, the Law of God is, If thou be stricken on the one Cheek, to turn the other; or if thy Cloak be taken away, to give also thy Gown. The literal sense is not to be taken, and, as there is cause, a reasonable construction must be. So he concluded, that though it were a sin, yet it was to be punished here on Earth according to the good or bad, or rather according to the greater or lesser hurt which groweth thereby.

After which one (whose name is not expressed . . .) endeavour'd the Answer of Mr. Wilson, but with a Protestation of his insufficiency, and then he shewed, how the Divines have not agreed what is Usury, but for his own part, he was to incline to the opinion of the Learned of these days . . . which took that for no Usury which is without grievance. . . . To kill is prohibited, yet sometimes not to kill is evil. Phineas killed, and was therefore commended. And Thefts at times have been in Scriptures approved. So likewise Usury is allowed of in the Scriptures; but that it might be used to Strangers only: Albeit the Chosen Children of God amongst themselves might not use it. But let be, whether it be utterly unlawful, or in some sort to

be tolerated, it is a question ; and until it be determined for the common Commodity and maintenance, let it be as hitherto it hath been used. And for the common sort of Bargains of Corn for Cloth, Silk for Land, etc. what they be, whether Usury or no, we know not. That all should be well, it is to be wished ; that all may be done well among men, it is beyond hope, for we are no Saints, we are not of perfection to follow the Letter of the Gospel. . . . To do that therefore to another which we would to our selves (the state, circumstance and case to our selves considered) is commendable, or not to be reproved ; if we our selves be to borrow, who is it that would not in extremity give a little to save much money? It is said, the Usurer doth or may grow rich : Who hath disliked in a Common-Wealth, that there should be *homines boni frugi ?* they may be considered, and may be good, more than for one purpose. He further stood on this, that God did not absolutely forbid Usury, which surely if it had been utterly ill, he would have done. And he added, that the Common Laws were Cruel in their censures, and wished that they should be no more remembered than they are followed.

Sergeant Lovelace argued to this effect, that Usury was of Money only, protesting that he hated all kind of Usury, but yet the greater the ill was, the more and more greatly did he hate the same. But to prohibit it with so sharp and extream a Law as to lose all, he thought it would be the ground of greater Covetousness ; withal he added, to prohibit the ill of Covetousness in generality were rash, void and frivolous ; since that the Speech and the Act it self is indefinite, comprehending all our actions and doings ; and therefore, as utterly vain to prohibit it, in vain words of generality. To prohibit Drunkenness, Pride, Envy, Surfeiting, etc. were somewhat in some particular sort ; to do it in generality, . . . were but folly. Of these great Evils, . . . when we may not reach to the best, furthest and uttermost, we must do, as we may say, by degrees. As to say there shall be no deceit, or sleight in making of this or that kind of Wares ; that the Husband-man shall till his Arable Land, and that he shall not keep above such a number of Sheep ; that there shall be no forestalling, regrating, etc. and this in particu-

larity; whereas otherwise, generally among sinful men to prohibit this sin or that sin utterly on a pain it may not be: but thus rather, he that shall so sin shall suffer or lose so much; whereupon he concluded, that there should be degrees in punishing of Usury; as he that should take so much, to lose, or be punished thus; he that shall take more, more deeply.

Mr. Fleetwood . . . said he had read the Civil Law, and of the Common Law somewhat; but how well he did understand it, he would not promise ought: What Usury was, he said, he was not to learn; call it if we list, *Proxima homicidio* . . . and the most ancient Laws of this Realm have taught us thereof somewhat: . . . He shewed also that Usury was *malum in se*, for that of some other transgressions, her Majesty may dispence afore with: but for Usury, or to grant that Usury may be used, she possibly cannot. He further said, that the words of an Act of Parliament are not ever to be followed; for that sometimes the construction is more contrary to what is written. . . . And some Statutes are winked at by non-observation or otherwise, so that they seem to be no Laws. . . .

Mr. Dalton endeavoured to prove that Mr. Fleetwood mistook the Bill, but in fancy he mistook his Arguments.

Mr. Norton shewed that all Usury is biting: as in the word Steal is contained all kind of injurious taking away of a mans goods: and as slanderizing is said to be murthering or homicide; so is Usury justly ever to be said biting, they being both so correlated or knit together, that the one may not be without the other. He concluded, that since it is doubtful what is good, we should be mindful of the old saying, *Quod dubitas ne feceris*, and for that *Quod non ex fide est peccatum est;* therefore he wished that no allowance should be of it.

12. USURY NOT EXCEEDING TEN PER CENT PERMITTED (13 ELIZABETH, C. 8), 1571.

[Stats. of the Realm, Vol. IV., Pt. I., pp. 542-43.]

Whereas in the Parliament holden the seven and thyrtey yere of the Raigne of our late Soveraigne Lord Kyng Henrye the Eight of famos Memory, there was then made and established

one good Act[1] for the Reformation of Usurie; by which Act the Vice of Usurie was well repressed, and specially the corrupt Chevisaunce and bargaynyng by way of Sale of Wares and Shiftes of Interest; And where synce that tyme by one other Acte[2] made in the fyft and sixe yeres of the Raigne of our late Soveraine Lord Kynge Edward the Syxte the said former Acte was repelled, and newe Provisoes for repressing of Usurie devised and enacted; which said latter Acte hathe not done so muche good as was hoped it shoulde, but rather the said Vyce of Usurye, and specially by waye of Sale of Wares and Shiftes of Interest, hathe much more excedingly abounded, to the utter undoinge of many Gentlemen, Marchauntes, Occupiers and other, and to the importable Hurte of the Common wealth, aswell for that in the said latter Acte there is no provysion agaynst such corrupt Shyftes and Sales of Wares, as also for that there is no dyfference of payne, forfayture or punyshement uppon the greater or lesser exactions and oppressions by reason of Lones upon Usurie: Bee yt therefore enacted, That the said latter Statute made in the fyfte and syxe yeres of the Raigne of Kyng Edward the Syxte, and every Braunch and Article of the same, from and after the fyve and twenty daye of June next comming, shalbe utterly abrogated, repelled and made voyde; and that the sayd Acte made in the said seven and thyrtey yere of Kyng Henry the Eight, from and after the said fyve and twentey daye of June next commyng shalbe revived and stand in full Force, Strengh and Effecte.

II. And bee yt further enacted, That all Bondes, Contractes and Assuraunces, collaterall or other, to be made for payment of any Principall or Mony to be lent, or Covenaunt to be performed, upon or for anye Usurye in lendynge or doyng of any Thinge agaynste the said Acte nowe revyved, upon or by which Loane or Doinge there shalbe reserved or taken above the Rate of Tenne Poundes for the Hundred for one yere, shalbe utterly voyde.

III. And bee yt further enacted, That all Brokers, Solicitors and Drivers of Bargaynes for Contractes or other Doinges agaynst the said Statute nowe revyved, whereupon shalbe

[1] 37 Hen. VIII., c. 9. [2] 5 & 6 Ed. VI., c. 20.

reserved or taken more then after the Rate of Tenne Poundes for the Loane of a Hundred Poundes for a yere, shalbe to all Intentes and Purposes judged, punyshed and used as Counsellours, Atturneys or Advocates in any case of Premunire.

IV. And forasmuch as all Usurie being forbydden by the Lawe of God is synne and detestable: Bee it enacted, That all Usurie, Loane and forbearing of Monye, or gevyng Dayes for forbearing of Monye, by way of Loane, Chevysaunce, Shyftes, Sale of Wares, Contracte or other Doynges whatsoever for Gayne mentioned in the said Statute which is now revyved, whereuppon is not reserved or taken or covenaunted to be reserved, payde or geven to the Lender, Contracter, Shyfter, Forbearer or Deliverer above the Summe of Tenne Poundes for the Loane or Forbearinge of a Hundred Poundes for one yere, or after that Rate for a more or lesser summe or tyme, shalbe, from the fyve and twentey daye of June next comming, punished in fourme folowinge, that is to saye: That every suche Offendor agaynst this Braunche of this present Statute shall forfayte so muche as shalbe reserved by way of Usurie above the Principall for any Money so to be lent or forborne; all such Forfaytures to be recovered and imployed as is lymited for Forfaytures by the saide former Statute nowe revyved.

V. And bee it further enacted, That Justices of Oyer and Terminer and Justices of Assise in theyr Circuites, Justices of Peace in theyr Sessions, Maiors, Sheryffes and Bayliffes of Cyties, shall also have full Powre and Aucthorytie to enquyre, heare and determyne of all and singuler offences commytted agaynst the sayd Statute now revyved.

VI. And be yt further enacted, That the sayde Statute nowe revyved shalbe most largely and strongly construed for the repressing of Usurie, and agaynst all persons that shall offend agaynste the true meaning of the said Statute by any Way or Devyce dyrectly or indyrectly.

VII. Provyded alway, That this Statute doth not extend nor shalbe expounded to extend unto any Allowaunces or Paymentes for the finding of Orphanes accordinge to the auncient Rates or Customes of the Citie of London, or any other Citie where lyke Order is for the Custodye of Orphanes and theyr Goodes, as is in the said Citye of London.

VIII., IX. [Offenders against 37 H. VIII., c. 9, "shall and maye also be punished and corrected according to the Ecclesiasticall Lawes heretofore made agaynst Usurie." The Act to continue for five years from the end of the present Parliament.]

13. PRESENTMENTS OF A MONEYLENDER AND A BROKER FOR OFFENCES AGAINST 13 ELIZABETH, C. 8, 1572.

[Middlesex Guildhall, General Sessions of the Peace Rolls, 191 (Nos. 6 and 7).]

Juratores presentant pro domina Regina, quod cum quidam Ricardus Offley de London, mercator scissor, inter primum diem Marcii anno regni domine nostre Elizabethe dei gratia Anglie, Francie et Hibernie Regine fidei defensoris &c. quartodecimo et primum diem Maii extunc proximum sequentem, per colorabilem, corruptivam et deceptivam viam et modum deliberavit et accomodavit cuidam Johanni Sentleger de Annary in comitatu Devonie, militi, summam quingentarum librarum legalis monete Anglie pro spacio sive tempore unius anni integri proximi post dictam deliberacionem et accomodacionem dictarum quingentarum librarum inde sequente, et pro predicta accomodacione et die dando solucionis dicte Summe quingentarum librarum predictus Ricardus inter vicesimum octavum diem Junii anno regni dicte domine Regine nunc quintodecimo et decimum octavum diem Julii tunc proximum sequentem apud Westmonasterium in comitatu Middlesex accepit, recepit et habuit de prefato Johanne Sentleger in lucro et proficuo suo summam Centum librarum legalis monete Anglie ultra dictas quingentas libras, quod est ultra Ratam decem librarum in quolibet centum in uno anno contra formam diuersorum statutorum in huiusmodi casu editorum et provisorum &c.

Juratores pro domina Regina presentant, quod cum quidem Johannes Bowland de London, sadler, inter primum diem Marcii anno regni domine nostre Elizabeth[e] dei gratia Anglie Francie et Hibernie Regine fidei defensoris etc. quartodecimo et primum diem Maii extunc proximum sequentem, apud westmonasterium in comitatu Middlesex fuit Brocator, Solicitator et factor

cuiusdam bargaine inter quendam Ricardum Offley de London, predictum mercatorem scissorem, ex una parte, et quendam Johannem Sentleger de Annarye in comitatu Devonie, militem, ex altera parte, super accomodacionem et diem dando solucionis cuiusdam summe quingentarum librarum legalis monete anglie per prefatum Ricardum Offley tunc agreate ac mutuande pro spacio unius anni, super quam quidem bargainam sic factam et habitam prefatus Ricardus Offley haberet in lucro et proficuo suo de prefato Johanne Sentleger summam centum librarum, quasquidem centum libras ultra et supra dictam summam quingentarum librarum prefatus Ricardus Offley percepit, recepit et habuit, quod est ultra ratam decem librarum in quolibet centum in uno anno, pretextu cuius prefatus Johannes Rowland ut Brocator, Solicitator et factor predicte corrupte Bargaine, ut predictum est, per vigorem cuiusdam Actus Parliamenti facti et tenti apud Westmonasterium predictum in dicto comitatu Middlesex secundo die Aprilis anno regni dicte domine Regine nunc xiij° incurruit penam et penalitatem debitam consiliariis attornatis vel advocatis in casu premunire. . . .

14. COMPLAINT OF A FALSE ACCUSATION OF USURY UNDER 13 ELIZABETH, C. 8, 1574 (?).

[S.P.D. Eliz., Vol. XCIX., No. 26. Words in italics are underlined in the original.]

To the Quenes Maiesties most honorable Privy Counsell.

Humbly complaynynge sheweth unto your honors your poore and dayly Oratour William Symondes that where as one *William Napper* in the xth yere of the Quenes Maiesties Raigne that nowe ys by his dede obligatory became bounden unto your saide Oratour in the *some of one hundreth* powndes, with condicon thereupon indorsed that if the saide William Napper shoulde well and truely pay and deliuer to your saide Supplyante *fourtie quarters of wheate and fourtie loddes of wolle* at the house of your saide Supplyante within the Citie of Winchester or fyftie powndes in money in the feaste of sainte Michaell tharchangell then nexte followinge, that then the saide obligacion shoulde be

voide; and where also the sayde William Napper did not pay or deliuer unto your saide Oratour the saide wheate and wolle nor the said some *of l li. nor any parte* thereof accordinge to the saide Condicon; whereupon your Oratour comensed his sute againste the saide William Napper in the saide Citie of Winchester upon the saide obligacion and *there caused him to be arrested,* where the saide William Napper (for that he could finde no suertye) was accordinge to the custome of the saide Cittie comytted to pryson and there remayned, untill suche tyme as the saide *Napper and Amye his wif* and others thare frendes made greate sute unto your Oratour for the mytigatinge of the penalty of the saide obligacion of c *li.*; upon whose Requeste, and after delay of paymente *of the saide some of fiftie poundes by the space of fyve yeres* and greate charges and losses susteyned by your saide Oratour, he was contented and did agree to take of the saide William Napper the some of *xx li. in hande, and lx li. to be* paide in the feaste of Saincte Michaell tharchangell then next insuynge; accordinge to which Agremente the saide William Napper paide unto your saide supplyante the saide some of xx *li.*, and together with one Henry Hopkins became bounden to your saide Oratour by theire Dede obligatory bearinge date the xxjth day of Aprill in the xvjth yere of your saide soueraigne Ladies Raigne for the paymente to him of *the saide lx li.* in the feaste of Saincte Michaell tharchangell then nexte insuynge; which saide some of *lx li. was not* paide unto your saide subiecte accordinge to the tenour of the same latter obligacion, by reason whereof the saide obligacon was and is forfeited, and so your saide supplyante iustely and lawfully intituled to have the advantage and benefytte of the penalty thereof. Whiche the saide William Napper, perceavinge and knowinge that if it coulde be proved that the saide obligacion was made for usurye then the same was voide, did devise and Agree with *one Thomas Veale* an Informer that the saide Thomas Veale shoulde for him self and her highnes put in to the Courte comonly called the Quenes Benche one Informacon againste your supplyante upon the statute made for punishemente of usurers, conteynynge therein in effecte that your saide supplyante at Westminster in the county of Middlesex Receaved the saide

some of xx *li.* for the forbearinge the saide some of lx *li.* contrary to the saide statute (at which place your supplyante neuer receaved nor had any some of money of the saide Napper nor neuer made any bargaine or Agremente touchinge the premisses), And that after your saide supplyante had ioyned Issue in the saide Courte upon the same informacion they shoulde procure a parciall Jury to be ympanelled for the tryall of the saide Issue, And that when the saide Issue shoulde be tryed, the saide Amye wif of the saide Napper shoulde testefye and beare witnes that your saide Oratour receaved and had the saide some of xx *li.* for the forbearinge of the saide some of lx *li.* as shoulde by the Informacion be alleged. Accordinge to which devise the saide Informacion was made and put into the saide Courte, and after Issue ioyned by your Oratour a parciall Iury was ympanelled for tryall thereof and ready in the saide Courte to try the same Issue, where the saide Amy before the Judges of the same Courte and the saide Jury there sworne for tryall of the same Issue did depose in suche sorte as before was devised, that is to say, that the saide some of xx *li.* was paide to your supplyante for the forbearinge of the saide some of lx *li.* accordinge to the supposall of the saide Informacion, upon which deposicion thus made the saide Jurye gave theire verdicte againste your supplyante, neither respectinge that this was done and so proved by the procuremente of the saide Napper, and that by this meanes Napper was in maner to avoide his owne obligacion, nor yet havinge Regarde to the othes and deposicions of towe persons of very good creditte *beinge privie of all the* Comunycacions, Conclusions and Agrementes had and made betwene the saide William Napper and your supplyante for or touchinge the saide seuerall somes of xx *li.* and lx *li.*, who did depose before the saide Judges and Jury as the truthe was, that the Agremente betwene the saide William Napper and your supplyante was had and made in maner and forme and upon consideracion herein before to your honors declared and not in suche maner as the saide Amy had deposed. Whereby your saide Oratour ys not only lyke to loose the some of ccxl *li.* but also to lose the benefitte of the saide laste obligacion, and this by the only othe of the wif of the saide Napper, and the saide verdicte thus unduely obteyned, whiche

saide obligacon if your saide Oratour wolde at the Requeste of the saide Veale haue released, then wolde the saide Veale haue discharged the saide sute thus had againste your supplyante. And by this undue meanes your Oratour is lyke to be utterly spoyled and undone if your honors do not (of your accustomed clemency) take some order for the Relief of him herein. Wherfore may it please your honors, that albeyt iudgemente is given againste your supplyante in the saide sute as well for and upon her Maiesties behalf as upon the behalf of the saide Veale, that the execucion thereof may be stayed and not taken or sued againste your saide Oratour, or some other suche meanes as to your honors shalbe thoughte moste convenyente for the Releess of your saide Supplyante in this his greate perill and mysery. And your saide Orator as he is moste bounden shall pray for the preservacion of your honors longe to contynue.

[*Endorsed*] William Symondes Supplication touching Vsarie.

15. PROCLAMATION PROHIBITING PRIVATE EXCHANGE BUSINESS AND ESTABLISHING A PUBLIC EXCHANGE OFFICE, 1576.

[Harl. MSS., No. 38, Art. 29, ff. 228-29.]

September xxvij Anno xviij Regina Elizabethe.

The Orders appoynted for the gouernment and order of the Eschaunge, that the same maie be vsed and kept according to the lawes and statutes of the Realme, which are now ordeyned to be obserued by the Queenes majestes proclamacion.

First, all Marchauntes, English and Strangers, and all other her Majestes subiectes are to vnderstand that by the lawes and statutes of this Realme no man ought to make anie eschaunge or rechaunge of money, but such as her Majestie shall authorise, or their leeful deputies, to keepe, make, and answere for such eschaunges and rechaunges, vpon paines conteyned in the same Statutes.

And to the intent the same maie be vsed for the necessarie vses of leeful eschaunge and rechaunge in cases requisite, it is att this present time ordered for the vsage thereof that Edmond Calthrop, Thomas Maston, of the citie of London, Haberdashers,

and John Wanton of the same citie, Grocer, men well acquainted with the manner of eschaunges and rechaunges from and to the Citie of London and to and from forraigne partes, shall and maie make and giue sufficient warrant to all persons for eschaunge and reeschaunge, in such sort as shalbe agreable to the obseruacion of the lawes for that purpose ordeyned. And therefore from henceforth all billes of eschange or rechaunge endorsed or subscribed with the name and handwriting of them, or anie one of them, shalbe sufficient warrant both for the deliuerer and taker. And whensoeuer anie others shalbe appointed to occupie and exercise the same roomes, for the keeping of the same eschaunge, there shalbe thereof from time to time notice publiquelie giuen in places thereto requisite.

Item, it is to be regarded that none goe about by anie fraudulent colour or device to alter or to discontinue the auntient manner of deliuering or taking of money by eschaunge, whereby either the intention of the lawes provided therefore, or her Majesties prerogative for her fines and duties answereable for the same, be abused or defrauded.

Item, though there hath bine alwaies answered in former times to her Majestes progenitours and to the Masters and Keepers of the eschaunge from time to time, as by many recordes is very manifest to be seene, vpon euerie English Noble of the deliuerer one penny, and the like of the taker, which was vpon euerie pound Sixe pence; yet for the more ease and lesse burden of such as shall have necessarie cause to deliuer or take by eschaunge, there shall not be for this time, nor vntill greater cause shall moue for her Majestes service, anie more be taken but one farthing of the said Noble or the value thereof for the deliuerer, and one other farthing of the taker, which shalbe vpon the pound but penny halfpenny.

Item, yt is to be considered that the eschaunge and reeschaunge shalbe so ordered, that as neare as possiblie maie be, and as times of trade maie suffer, the moneys of this Realme maie not be deliuered vnder the iust values of their standerd, neither that anie eschaunges of money be vsed but for the vse of knowne Marchauntes, or for such as otherwise by the Queenes Majestes licence, or leefullie by the lawes and vsages of the Realme,

haue or hereafter shall haue for their needfull businesse to make their eschaunges of the moneys of this Realme for moneys in forraigne places.

Finally, yf there shall hereafter appeare anie further matter needeful to be ordeyned or declared for the better and more perfect vsage of the eschaunge, or for the avoyding or explanyng of anie doubtes that maie aryse, the same shalbe with advise of wise and expert men in the trade of marchandize and of eschange notified in like tables from time to time, to be seene and read in this place.

God Saue the Queene.

16. PROTEST BY THE ITALIAN MERCHANTS OF THE CITY AGAINST STATE CONTROL OF EXCHANGE BUSINESS, 1576.

[Schanz, Englische Handelspolitik gegen Ende des Mittelalters (1881), Vol. II., pp. 642-46.]

A demonstracion of the merchantis of Italy touchinge the imposition and ordre set upon the exchaunge to the worshipfull Sir Thomas Gresham, Sir Thomas Chamberline, knightis, Mr. Thomas Rivett, Mr. Peter Osborne and Mr. Richarde Martyne, commissioners appointed by the Queen's Maiestie to heare the same.

Forasmuch as your worshippes have requyred, that wee, the merchantis Italiens, should show presente your worshippes with more brevitie, then we have don afore, in what pointis doth greive us the new imposicion and ordre, that hath ben sett uppon the exchaunge, althoughe it is not easile utter it in few wordes, nevertheles wee have sett it forth as breiflie as we can.

Therfore it maie please your worshippes to understande, that the cheifest livynge and mayntenaunce that we have is uppon the commissions, that are sent unto us of our frendes from beyond the seas to sell forrein wares here in London and buy English wares for to send over.

The trade of the forrein wares for Englande will much decaye

because of the imposicion and difficultie uppon thexchaunge; for suche our frendes, that did send such commodities as allome, woade, canvas, silkes, wynes and other necessary thingis for thintent to reiterate shortlie after the sendinge hether suche comodytyes, so soone as they knewe they were here arrived, did use to take upp moneye by exchaunge for London; and if the saide wares were not solde or money not due, they gave here commission to there factors to take it uppe by rechaunge agayne; and so in tyme of an usance or double usaunce of Anwerpe, an usaunce of Venice or a fayre at Lyons, this matter might be well compassed without any great losse, and by this meane they might helpe themselves with there monye of there wares a great while before that it were monye in deede; but nowe that they shall knowe, that the exchaunge will geve them suche losse by the paymente of this fee, besides the ordinary interest that is used to come uppon the exchaunge, they shall not be able to continewe this trade nor to reiterate so often the same. Therfore there shall ensewe a great diminishinge of the Queen's custome inwardes, and that the Englishe people shall paye the dearer for the necessarye forrein commodytyes, and we particularlye shall remayne destitute of these comissions and factories.

We saye likewise of the trade of others our commissioners, that did use to sende for Englishe comodytyes, as clothes and others beinge not forbidden, and inwarde, they send nothinge or verye little; for those that oughte here to buy for themselves might in two maners furnishe the monye, the one causinge moneye to be remitted unto them from beyonde the seas, and the other in takinge moneye here in London by exchaunge. Touchinge the first maner they shall lacke muche of that helpe; for monye shall not be remitted unto them, for because in forrein places there shall be founde no man that will take upp monye by exchange for London, knowinge that it shalbe more damageable unto them then other places, as muche as this fee dothe importe, which will alwayes fall upon the debitor, and he shall scareslye finde money here in London to take upp by exchange, so little wilbe exchange that hereafter will be made; therfore our comission outwarde will fayle unto us, as

we have saide above of theis inwarde, and the Queen's customes outwardis also will muche decaye, and the Englishe people, that did utter at good prices the comodityes and handicraftes, shall not be able to do it as afore they weare, they shall suffer muche damage and discomodytye. Besides this the free exchaunge hathe ben an instrumente wherby the merchaunts might paye honorablye there debtes at there daye; for if one ought for a maner of an example this daye a somme of mony, it shold be a dishonor unto him to desire his creditors to tarrye a sevennight, a fortenight or 20 dayes, untill he sholde reteine monye for debtes due unto him. But to paye his sayde debte, he might presentlye take up monye by exchaunge to Lyon, Andwerpe, and then, after he had received his monye, he might remitte there for the same tyme that he tooke it upp, and so with little losse compasse his busines. But nowe in suche case, consideringe that he shalbe forced to pay two tymes this imposicion, one in the takinge and the other in the deliveringe so shortelye after, the interest of fewe dayes will cost him to muche; therfore he shalbe fayne to restrayne his trade and shall not be able to accept his frendes debtes and changes he did before.

Lykewise those of us shall finde to much charges, that made doble exchaunges for service of thEnglishe merchantis, as for exampl they toke monye of your vinteners for Burdeaux, and to thintent that the saide mony might be readye there, they did exchaunge it for Lyons or other places, beinge contente of any small profitte; nowe that they must paye 2 tymes this imposicion, and that the ordinarye brokerage, that often tymes they did save, they nowe shall not save, they shall neede to make ther reckoninge and ask greater price of the vinteners, the which peradventure will finde it so heavye besides his parte of the fee which he must paye, that he might take an evill occasion to send over the mony.

We made also often tymes amongest us doble exchanges without any broker, which was, for a maner of example, that one of us had monye in Venice and wolde bringe into this realme Frenche wares, and another hathe money in Lyons and would bringe wares out of Italye, and so they did agree together

to geve one to another mutuall letters of exchaunge, the one for Lyons and the other for Venice; and wheras suche double exchaunge of the valewe of 100 *li.* had no chardge at all, nowe it shall have charge 35 *s.*, for the fee shalbe payde for everye one of the 2 billes of exchaunge, which is 25 *s.*, and 10 *s.* brokerage, that nowe is not to be escaped, makethe uppe the 35 *s.*, so that we shalbe faine utterlye to leave of these doble exchaunges, that we made as well for the commodytye of the merchauntes of your nation as of ourselves to thintent still to serve to the ease and trade of merchandise.

Bothe the ordre yet is of more troble and impedimente then the verye imposicion; for thoughe the fee were in a maner but a peny in every hundreth pounde, it were neadfull to finde a meanes that the Queen's Maiestie should not be defrauded of the same, the which we cannot invente or imagine, without that registre shall be kepte of all our doinges, and that our bookes shalbe seene and our letters opened, the which thinge wilbe an extreme preiudice unto our occupations, and we would have taken payne more at large to expresse the same, if that your worshippes had not thexperience and knowledge better then us of this matter.

Towchinge the standerde of the English monye, that you complayne of is kept lowe by reason of the free exchaunge, we can saye nothing but that our exchaunges are made with a mutuall consente betwene merchaunte and merchaunte, and that the abondaunce of the deliverers or of the takers make thexchaunge rise or fall; and this occasion dothe countepoise this place of London with the others; for if you will compell a needfull person to take upp for exchaunge for Andwerpe at 26 *s.* Flemishe for everye pounde sterlinge, when the exchaunge is there at 24 *s.*, he shall leave of to take it, but will cause monye to be remitted to him from thence accordinge to the course of the exchaunge there.

But some do complayne of some strangers, that bringe into England merchandizes for more valewe then that they sende out. We saye that the cause of this is the inequalityes of the customes outwardes; for a stranger can not sende into Flanders or into Fraunce a peece of clothe or carseye, except it shold

stande him dearer then he might have them there in those places at an Englishe mans handes; besides that it is to be considered, that the most parte of commodytyes of this realme, that in times before might be transported out, nowe they be utterly forbidden, as well corne, leather, tallowe, or els charged with great licence, as undressed clothes and others, so that it is not possible for straungers to meddele ther withall; nevertheless we doe denie, that the overplus of the amountinge of the straunge wares should be sent over by us in readye monye, but we deliver it by exchaunge unto your Englishe merchaunts, that may better traffique outwardelye, and if we doe at lower price then the valewe of the standerde, we are verye sorye and we wolde verye gladlye it were otherwise.

That be the damages, difficultyes and inconveniences, that by this order shall happen, that is to saye, for our parte the whole destitution of all our frendes commission, wheruppon was grounde our lyvinge and maynteynment; damage unto Queen's Maiestie for the diminishing of her customes for greater somme then the importance of the rent of this fee, though(t) that exchaunges should be in suche frequence and nombre as they have ben heretofore, the which thinge can not be, for verye fewe exchaunge wilbe made; damage also the comen wealth, for they shall paye dearer for forreine wares for the scarsitye that shalbe here of the same, and they shall not so well sell the commodityes of the realme as they have don afore; and finallye a dangerous occasion maye be presented to somme to carrye awaye the monye out of the realme, the which thinge the f[r]ee exchaunge doth avoyde, and for this intente it is to be thought that it was instituted.

Therfore we, consideringe that amonge all restraintes, trobles or impedimentes, that ever was sett against the trade of merchaunts in any place, this is the troblesomest, we beseche your worships to examine it, and to reporte to her Maiestie and to her honorable counsell uppon this matter even as god almightye shall inspire you for the commen profitt and wealth of this realme.

17. REPORT OF COMMISSIONERS FOR USURY, 1578 (?).

[S.P.D. Eliz., Vol. CXXVII., No. 76.]

An abstract taken by John Edgar and William Hoskyns, Commyssioners for usery and concealmentes agaynst the Quenes Maiestie.

Imprimis, the userye that is found all redye and passed over by Jury by dyvers and syndrye persons amountethe to the some of one thowsand threescore pounde and thre shillinges } 1060 *li.* 3 *s.*

Item, there is found by deposessions of dyvers and syndrye persons examyned by vertue of the quenes Maiestie comyssion thre thowsand fyve hundrethe fourescore and fyefteyne poundes not yet approvyd by Jury } 3595 *li*

Also conceylmentes there is found to the value of twoo thowsand poundes, not yet proved by Jury } 2000 *li.*

Item, there is not as yet examyned the fyefte parte that wilbe proved yf the quenes Maiestie do not pardone the userers and Concelmentes, so that we may quyetly travell without molestacion within the Counties specified in the Commyssion.

Maye it therefor please the Quenes Maiestie to appoyente twoo or three of hir honorably [*sic*] Councell, or others whome her grace shall thyncke meate, to heare and determyne thes offences all redye passed by Jury, and in the mean tyme the rest also shalbe approved by Jurye, which may be Certified frome tyme to tyme and at all tymes whane yt shall please the honorable Councell or any other so appoynted by her highnes.

John Edgare.
Wylliam Hoskins.

[*Addressed :—*] To the right honorable the Lord of Burleigh one of the quenes Maiesties privye Councell.

[*Endorsed :—*] Edgar and Hoskins Commissioners for vsury and concealments.

18. INTERVENTION OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL IN A CASE OF USURY, 1601.

[Acts of the Privy Council, Vol. XXXI., p. 379.]

A letter to the Lord Byshopp of Excetor, Sir Thomas Denys and Sir Robert Bassett, knights, John Drakeland and Thomas Revell, esquires.

There hath an humble peticion bene exhibited unto us by divers poore men, inhabitantes of the County of Devon, informynge us of very hard dealinge by usery and other extreame courses used by one John Hamlyn of Exwicke nere unto the cytty of Excetor against them, tendinge to theire utter impoverishment and undoinge, which greivances are more particulerlie declared in theire inclosed peticion. Wee have therefore thought good uppon this theire humble suite made unto us to recomend the same unto your Lordship and the rest, and hereby do praie and require you to send for the said John Hamlyn before you and dulie to heare and examine all the informacions of thes poore men that doe complaine against him, and thereuppon yf you fynde those accusacions to be true to advyse him to a more Christian and charytable consideracion of thes his neighbours, whome yf you shall not be able to bringe to better conformytie, then wee praie you to certyfie us of your proceeding and what uppon due examynacion of theire complaint you conceve of his hard dealinge. So, &c.

SECTION IV.—HIGH PRICES AND THE COINAGE.

1. FIRST DEBASEMENT OF THE COINAGE BY HENRY VIII., 1526.

[Schanz, Englische Handelspolitik gegen Ende des Mittelalters (1881), Vol. II., pp. 630-31.]

Henry the 8, by the grace of god king of England and of Fraunce [etc.] to the most reverend father in god, our most trusty and most entierly beloved councelour the lord Thomas cardinall of Yorke, archbishop, legat de latere of the sea apostolike, primate of England and our chauncelour of the same, greeting. For as much as coynes of moneys as well of gold as of silver be of late dayes raised and inhaunced both in the realme of Fraunce and also in the emperours Low Countrys and in other partes unto higher prices then the very poiz, weight, finesse and valuacion of the same, and otherwise then they were accostumed to be currant, by meanes whereof the money of this our realme is daily and of long season hath bene by sundry persons, as well our subiectes as strangers, for their particular gayne and lucre conveyed out of this realme into the partes beyond the seas, and so is likely to continue more and more, to the great hinderaunce of the generallity of our subiectes and people and to the no little impovrishing of our said realme, yf the same be not speedely remedied and forseene: we after long debating of this matter with you and sundry other of our councell, and after remission made unto outward princes for reformacion thereof, and finding finally no manner of remedy to be had at their handes, have by mature deliberacion determined, that our coynes and moneys as well of gold as of silver shalbe

by our officers of our minte from hencefoorth made of such finesse, allay, standard and value, as may be equivalent, correspondent and aggreable to the rates of the valuacion enhaunced and raised in outward partes, as is afore specefied.

Wheruppon we have given comandement by our other letres under the great seale to the master warden, comptroller and other officers of our said minte and to either of them, to see this our determinacion put in execucion of the said coyns by proclamacion or otherwise, as in the printe coyne stroke of the same. Wherfore by these patentes we will and authorize you to proceede not only from time to time when you shall seeme conveniently by advise of such other our councell as you shall thincke good to the limitacion, descripcion and devising, how and after what manner forme our said moneys may be brought unto the rates and values, finesse, lay, standard and print by you and them to be thought requisite, but also to appoint our said officers of our minte duely to followe, execute, obey and fulfill the same in every point according. In which during [*sic*, ? doing] theise our letres patentes under our great seale shalbe your sufficient warrant and discharge, any act, statute, ordinaunce or law or other thing whatsoever to the contrary notwithstanding. In witnes whereof we have caused theis patentes to be sealed with our great seale at Westminster the 24th day of July in the 18th yeare of the raigne.

2. ACT AGAINST THE EXPORTATION OF GOLD AND SILVER (7 EDWARD VI. C. 6), 1553.

[Stats. of the Realm, Vol. IV., Pt. I., p. 170.]

Wher in the Parliament begonne and holden at Westmynster the xvjth day of Januarye in the xvijth yere of kynge Edwarde the Fourthe, emonges other It was ordeined by thauctoritee of the same Parliament,[1] that no person sholde carrye or make to be carried out of this Realme or Wales from no part of the

[1] 17 Edw. IV. c. 1.

same, anye maner of Money of the Coigne of this Realme, nor Money of the Coigne of other Realmes Landes or Lordeshippes, nor Plate Vessell Bullion or Juell of Golde garnished or ungarnished, or of Sylver, without the Kinges lysence, but suche persons as bee dispensed with in the Statute made in the Seconde yere of King Henry the Syxthe, and other divers Statutes made, upon peine of Felonye as in the said Statute and Ordinance more plainly dothe appeare; the whiche said Statute and Ordinance was made tendure from the feast of Easter in the xviijth yere of King Edwarde the iiijth unto thende of vij yeres then next ensuing; whiche Statute and Ordinance before rehersed by aucthorite of Parliament holden n the iiijth yere of the late King of famous memory King Henry the VIIth was affirmed and enacted [1] to be good and effectuall from the feast of the Purificacion of our Ladye in the yere of our Lorde God One thousande fowre hundrethe foureskoue nyne and to endure to thende of xx^{ty} yeres then next ensuing, as by the same Statute also more playnly appearethe: Sithen the whiche xx^{ti} yeres sooe expired, the Golde and Sylver of the Coygne of this Realme hathe and daily ys and been carried and conveighed into France Flaundres Normandye Brytayn Irelande and other parties beyonde the Sea, aswell by Marchant Strangiers as by Denizens, to the great impoverishing of this Realme, and greater ys lyke to bee oneles Remedye therfor spedelye be provided: Be it therfor enacted by aucthorite of this presente Parliament that the sayd Statute and Ordinnance before rehersed made in the said xvijth yere of King Edwarde the iiijth and every Article clause sentence or provision therin conteined shalbe affirmed and enacted to be good and effectuall from the first day of Maye next comming and tendure to thende of xx^{ti} yeres then next following.

[Proviso for trial of peers for such offences.]

[1] 4 Hen. VII. c. 23.

3. JOHN HEYWOOD'S EPIGRAMS ON THE BASE TESTONS, *c.* 1547-49.[1]

[From J. Heywood, The Fifth Hundred of Epigrams and The Sixth Hundred of Epigrams, quoted in Ruding, Annals of the Coinage (1817), Vol. II., pp. 93-94.]

Of Brasse.

I perceive well now that Brasse is waxen proude
Because Brasse so much with Silver is aloude.
And beyng both ioynde, sins they most by Brasse stande,
That maketh Brasse bolde, to stand on the upper hand.

Of Testons.

Testons be gone to Oxforde, God be their speede:
To studie in Brasen nose, there to proceede.

Of redde Testons.

These Testons looke redde: how like you the same?
Tis a tooken of grace: they blushe for shame.

Of stampyng.

We stampe crabs, we stamp Testons: which stamping doone,
We stare uppon Testons now beyond the moone.
Which stampyng of Testons brought it not some skill,
Our staryng on Testons coulde judge them but ill,
But as the whot sunne melteth snowe away,
So shall whotte fire melt colde Testons, as folke say.
We, for Testons leauyng scoldyng and squaryng.
And on Testons leauyng stampyng and staryng.

Of Brasse and Silver.

Brasse hath beene a loft, with silver set up.
Come down Brasse and drinke on an ashen cup.

[1] Printed in 1562, but written some time previously and referring to the bad testons or pieces of twelve pence, first coined by Henry VIII. in 1543 and recalled by Proclamation in 1548 and again in 1549. Ruding thinks that the epigrams refer particularly to the testons issued in Edward VI.'s first coinage (1546-47).

Of Sylver to be borrowed.

Hast thou any bowde Sylver to lende me Ione?
Nay: hast thou any broken Sylver for me? none.
Hast thou any clypt Sylver? I had, but 'tis gone.
Hast thou any crakt Grote? crakt Grote? nay not one.
No Sylver, bowde, broken, clypt, crakt, nor cut,
Hers a freend for freendshyp not worth a crakt nut.

4. BISHOP LATIMER ON THE BASE TESTONS, 1549.

[Master Hugh Latimer, Seven Sermons before Edward VI., ed. E. Arber (English Reprints, 1869), pp. 34-35, 82, 84-86.]

[8 March, 1549.] We haue nowe a prety litle shilling, in dede a very pretye one. I haue but one, I think, in my pursse, and the laste daye I had put it awaye almoste for an olde grote, and so I truste some wyll take them. The fynes of the siluer I can not se. But therin is prynted a fyne sentence: that is, *Timor Domini fons vitae vel sapientiae.* The feare of the Lorde is the fountayne of Lyfe or Wysdome. I wolde god this sentence were alwaies printed in the herte of the kyng in chosynge hys wyfe, and in al hys officers.

[22 March, 1549.] Ther is a certaine man that shortly after my fyrst sermon, beynge asked if he had bene at the sermon that day, answered, yea: I praye you, said he, how lyked you hym? mary, sayed he, euen as I lyked hym alwayes, a sedicious fellowe. Oh lord, he pinched me ther in dede, nay he had rather a ful bytte at me. Yet I comfort my self with that, that Christ hym selfe was noted to be a sturrer vp of the people against the Emperoure, and was contented to be called sediciouse. It becommeth me to take it in good worthe, I am not better then he was. . . . So thys gentilman commeth vp nowe wyth sedicion. And wote ye what? I chaunced in my laste Sermon to speake a merye worde of the new shilling, to refreshe my auditory, howe I was lyke to put away my newe shillynge for an olde grote, I was herein noted to speake sediciously. Yet I conforte my selfe in one thyng, that I am not alone, and that I haue a fellowe. For it is *Consolatio miserorum.* It is the comforte of the wretched to

haue company. When I was in trouble it was obiected and sayd vnto me, that I was singular, that no manne thought as I thought, that I loued a syngularyte in all that I dyd, and that I tooke a way contrary to the kynge, and the whole parliamente, and that I was trauayled wyth them that had better wyttes then I, that I was contrari to them al. Marye, syr, thys was a sore thunder bolte. I thought it an yrksome thinge to be alone, and to haue no fellowe. I thoughte it was possyble it myghte not be true that they tolde me. . . .

So thoughte I, there be more of myne opinion then I, I thought I was not alone. I haue nowe gotten one felowe more, a companyon of sedition, and wot ye who is my felow? Esai the Prophete. I speake but of a lytle preaty shyllynge. But he speaketh to Hierusalem after an other sorte, and was so bolde to meddle with theyr coine. Thou proude, thou couetouse, thou hautye cytye of Hierusalem. *Argentum tuum uersum est in scoriam.* Thy syluer is turned into, what? into testyons? *Scoriam,* into drosse. Ah sediciouse wretche, what hadde he to do wyth the mynte? Why shoulde not he haue lefte that matter to some mayster of policy to reproue?

Thy Syluer is drosse, it is not fyne, it is counterfayte, thy siluer is turned, thou haddest good syluer. What pertained that to Esay? Mary, he espyed a pece of diuinity in that polici, he threatneth them goddes vengaunce for it. He went to the rote of the matter, whych was couetousnes. He espyed two pointes in it, that eythere it came of couetousnesse, whych became hym to reproue, or els that it tended to the hurte of the pore people, for the naughtines of the syluer was the occasion of dearth of all thynges in the Realme. He imputeth it to them as a greate cryme. He may be called a mayster of sedicion in dede. Was not thys a a sedyciouse harlot to tell them thys to theyr beardes? to theyr face.

5. WILLIAM LANE TO CECIL ON THE COINAGE AND OTHER MATTERS, 18 JAN., 1551.

[S.P.D. Edward VI., Vol. XIII., No. 3.][1]

The xviij daye of Jenuarij 1550 [i.e. 1551] in london.

For as myche as yow be in place where as mattars consernynge owre commonwelth ar many tymes tawkyd of, and I, in my harte wyschyng a Redresse of thynges that semythe to me a mysse, am so bolde as to uttur to yow my judgmente in these casys foloynge, withowte Redresse where of owr commonwelthe schall Rune hedlonge in to more misere; and for that I se a presente myscheffe in hand and commy[n]ge I wold hyt warre preventyd with a spedy Remedy.

Item, that of latte and not xij dayse paste I talkyd with Mr yorke off the mynte, who schowyd me that he was in hand to make a newe quyne of fyne sylvar that schowlde be xj ownsys fyne, and quynyd in peces off ij *s.* the pece, where of fyve peces and a lyttyll more schowld make one ownze; where of I made the Recnynge that j ownze of sylvar fyne beynge solde to the mynte at vj *s.* viij *d.*, beynge quined schowld make xj *s.* to be payde owte agayne or lyttyll more or lesse. I seyde altho the sylvar war fyne yete was hyt to dere and the mony nawghte; he awnsward that hyt was Rychar than the other mony late made, or now amakynge, and muche other commynycasyonn we had not.

Now, for as myche as yt ys well known that the exchange betwene owre Reme and other forin Remes ys the very Rule that settythe the pryse good chepe or dere off all moste all thy[n]ges where of ys no skarsyte, as well off the comodytys and mercha[n]dys of this Reme as of other forin comodytys browghte hyther, I wyll therfor declare whate presente myscheffe hathe hapnyd synse my commynycasyonn with Yorke, and is in thys vj dayse hytherward. The exchange as well for flandars, france as spayne amonge the mercha[n]tes ys fallyn abowte vij in C by

[1] Printed in modernised spelling in Froude, *Hist. of England* (1870), Vol. V., pp. 283-87. Froude makes a few omissions and verbal alterations.

Resonn of the newys of the new quyne commy[n]ge furthe, wyche the pepull wyll more bettar make the Recnynge of and undarstand the valew now in fyne sylvar, than before in the myxture —wyche fall off the exchange commythe off fere of lythenys off owre sylvar quyne, and ys the only cawse that all we the merchantes of y[n]glo[n]d to [*sic*] Robbe ynglond and cary a waye all the golde in the land in to forin Remes, for that hyt ys to a more profyt than the exchange. And the lyke of thys myscheffe hapnyd here in ynglo[n]d in the monthes of June, Julij, and awguste laste, in the wyche 3 monthes was caryyd owte of ynglond not so lyttyll as a hundarthe thowsand powndes of gold; and yette dyd there sylvar cume in to the land as faste, and all for the private gayne in quynynge the sylvar styll, and also was caryyd awaye, for that the pownd of gold ys Rychar than the pownd of whyte mony; wyche myschyffe now presente dothe cawse owr golde to be bowghte uppe at 2 *s.* 6 *d.* and ij *s.* viij *d.* the pownd for whyte mony. And where of latte the kynge dyd call the frenche crowne from vij *s.* to xix grotes, they be now bowghte uppe for vij *s.* iij *d.* and vij *s.* iiij *d.* to be caryyd awaye, as all other gold ys; So that schortely we schall be quite off all owre Ryche mony for a base quyne; and than schall folowe a gretar fall of the exchange, wyche ys the father of all darthe of almoste alle thynges that man occapyythe.

Yff we in ynglond schowld quyne vj yeres to cume so myche whyte mony as we have done in vj yeres paste of the valew that nowe goythe, the plentyfulnis off the mony and the bassenys there of togyther schowld brynge owre commonn welthe to that passe that, yff yow schold gyve apore man iij *s.* a daye for hys daye labor, yete yow showld skante paye hym syche a hyar as he myghte lyve there of, wyche God defend schowld cume to passe; and the only private gayne in quynynge sylvar ys the cawse of longe contynuans in quiny[n]ge styll; wyche exsesse off gayne in quinynge, and contynuans of the same, schall bry[n]ge to passe as afore sayd, yff spedy Redresse be not had in that behaffe. And to newe fyne owre base quyne from the delaye cannot be done withowte more charge than may be borne of the kynge or the comons.

Item, that thys sayde fall off the exchange within thys iiij dayse hathe cawsyd and wyll cawse to be bowghte clothes at lvj *li.* the packe, wyche be fore wold not have byn bowghte for lij *li.* the packe; so that yow may perseve that the exchange doth ingendar dere clothe, and dere clothe dothe ingendar dere wolle, and dere wolle dothe ingendar many scheppe, and many schepe dothe ingendar myche pastor and dere, and myche pastor ys the dekaye of tyllage, and owte of the dekaye of tyllage spryngythe ij evylls, skarsyte of korne and the pepull unwroghte, and consequentely the darthe off all thynges.

The only cawse off thys my wrytynge ys more for the Redresse of thys mattar foloynge than for the other before wryttyn; yff hyt myght be by yowr good helpe browghte to passe, yow sholde dow swche sarvys to the kynge and owre commonn welthe, as nevar man dyd in my Judgemente Synse I was borne; and that ys the grandefather off many innormytys, as well off thosse afore wryttyn as other, and that onsse beynge Redressyd we schall the lesse nede to stody Remedy for other evelles, but wyll partely Reforme themm sellffes, wyche ys thys. I have, for thys vj or viij yeres paste, markyd and well parsevyd owr common welthe to be growen in to swche a costelynys and charcheabylnys of lyvynge and exspensys of forin comodytys, a grete parte not nedeful, that the tryall beynge made by the kynges customm, yow schall fynd that we spende and consume with in thys Reme swche sumes and quantytys of forin comodytys that all the wolle, clothe, tyn, lede, lether, and coles, and other mercha[n]dys to be caryyd owte of thys Reme, ys not abyll to contarvayle, paye, or Recompense for the sayde marchandys browghte in to the Reme, note by one quartar parte or lesse. So that hyt ys to be wondarde at, that we in thys owre Reme showld waste and consume in one yere more in valewe of forin comodytys, than all the Rychenys of owre land, and travyll off owre pepull schowld brynge furthe in v quartares off yere or more; and so longe as the bryngynge in of superflues comodytys do exsede in valewe the Rychenys of owre comodytys and travyll off owr pepull caryyd owte, so long and so muche moste yow nedes grante me that owre Reme ys impowveryschyd, other in mony or other wysse. So that, onsse browghte to passe that the

comodytys off owre Reme and the travyll of owre pepull solde in forin contres maye exsede in valewe the forin comodytys browghte in, and so muche schall owr commonwelthe be yerely gaynars of them and they nat off us, and we to lyve off them and they nat off us, and owre Reme so myche in Rychyd of there mony or other wyse, and also kepe owre quy[n]e styll.

As for exsampull, that man wyche spendythe in a yere more than the stynte off hys landes and travyll of hys body dothe gayne, most nedes dekaye and growe in to dette, as dothe owre hole Reme in thys poynte ; and yette of latte dayse I undarstond that there ys a Restraynte of lede not to be caryyd owte of y[n]glond, wyche who so evar dyd invente studyyd as myche the common welthe as he that inventyd that no coles schowld be caryyd from newcastell in to anny forin partes but in a frenche scheppe, wyche altho hyt be but a cole mattar, ys syche a hynderans to aparte off owre commonn welthe as ys worthey off Redresse. And for as muche as I have spokyn of coles, I wyll saye a lyttyll more. Yff hyt war well consyderyd what warre to be done in the coles of y[n]glond for the benyfyt of owr land, and an ordar there in sette to the moste comodyte of thys Reme, hyt showld be fownd muche more benyfycyall to owre common welthe than hyt ys or now ys takyn for, for hyt myghte well mayntayne in y[n]glond iij of owre decayyd townes or setys, besyde the settynge off worke off ij^{c} scheppys dayly more than hyt dothe and the marynars there of where of many tymes we have nede.

If that hyt may be sayde for thys artyckyll aforesayd that we may not bannysche anny kynde off mercha[n]dys or comodytys of forin partes, for that hyt ys agaynst the entarcowrse or lege betwene us and the howse of burgone or frenche kynge, to that I awnswar that there ys Remedy, wayys and menys I nowe for the kynge to Redresse thys grete innormyty with owte towchynge off anny lege, intarcowrse, or privilegys be twene prynsys; but for as muche as thys laste enormyte of bryngynge in of superfluus comodytys ys not to be Remedyyd but by good avysemente in parlemente or otherwyse, in the mene tyme and owte of hand for gods sake forward summ Remedes for the other mattar, that we the merchantes cary not awaye all owre Ryche

mony, and leve the base mony here styll; and that onsse the exsesse of the private gayne in quinynge to other menn, supposyd as to the kynge, maye be takyn awaye, and also owre base quyne of whyte mony callyd downe to xv *s.* the pownd, wyche, altho hyt be not I now, yette wyll hyt do grete sarvys for the tyme, and kepe owre golde here, and also kepe many thy[n]ges at a staye wyche elles wyll cume to a mesere. And altho thys take no place, for dyvars Respectes knowun to the Rulares and nat to me, yette I saye there ys many more Resons here in to be made wyche I omytte, etc

Syr, I moste hartely desyar yow not to be offendyd with me for wrytynge thys my pore and sympyll Judgmente in mattares off wayghte apertaynyng to conselares or other wyse men; for god I take to Recorde, my harte bledythe in my body to se and perseve thus the thynges that be owte of frame, and the misere commynge toward us yff hyt be not preventyd, and myche by us mercha[n]tes by menys off the alterasyonn of owr mony.

god kepe yow.

yowres wyllyam lane, merchante of london.

To the Ryghte worschypfull Mastar Cycyll, one of the kynges magestes secretarys.

[*Endorsed*] xviij° February [*sic*] William Lane of london to my Master.

6. EVIL EFFECTS OF THE DEBASEMENT OF THE COINAGE NOTED IN CONTEMPORARY CHRONICLES, 1550.

(1)

[T. Cooper, Chronicle (1565 ed.), p. 351.]

By occasion of the warre at Boloine the coyne of Englande was first impaired by kyng Henry, and from that tyme continually to this daye was corrupted and made worse and worse, in so much that xx *s.* of English money, which before tyme of merchauntes occupyeng in strange countreys was counted worth xxvi *s.* viii *d.* or xxx *s.* somtime, at this present was estemed vnder xx *s.*, wherfore the counsell, minding a redresse hereof, debated the value of certaine pieces of money. For the testorne, which was xii *d.*, was first abated to ix *d.* and the piece of iiii *d.*

to iii *d.*, and in Auguste after from ix *d.* to vi *d.* and from iii *d.* to ii *d.*, and ii *d.* to a peny, the peny to a halfpenye. With this alteration moste poore men were muche greeued, for theyr whole substaunce lay in that kind of money, where as the richer sorte, partely by friendship vnderstanding the thing beforehande, dyd put that kynde of money away: partely knowyng the basenesse of the coyne, kept in store none but good golde and olde syluer, that woulde not bryng anye losse.

(2)

[Two London Chronicles, ed. C. L. Kingsford, in Camden Miscellany, Vol. XII., 1910, p. 23.]

Be it also remembred that vppon Fryday, being the viij of Maye, a proclamacion was made in London that from and after the last daye of August then next ensewynge, shyllynges of the valewe of xij *d.* shuld be currant but ix *d.*, and a grote for iij pence. By reason of which proclaymacion ensewed great dea[r]th of all thynges; for the people coueytinge to rayse the losse of theyr money vppon soche kynd of wares or victualles as they occupyed, dyd dayly inhaunse and encrease the prises both of wares and victualles, most miserably oppressynge the poore. . . .

Also be it remembred that vppon Thursdaye, being the ixth of July, the forsayd proclamacion which was appoynted to take effecte the last day of August next comynge, by reason of the insatyabell covetous of the people oppressynge the pore in ouerprysing, especially of vytayll and generally all other kyndes of warres, was shortened vnto this presente daye, and tooke effecte ymedyatly vppon the publyshynge of the same, which was doon betwene ix and x of the clocke beforenone of the same ix daye, so that ymedyatly a shyllynge went for ix *d.* and a grote for iij *d.*, and no word spoken of the small money, as pence and halfe grotes, by reason whereof ther was no small money to be gotten to geve to the poore people.

7. SIR JOHN MASON TO CECIL ON HIGH PRICES, 4 DEC., 1550.

[P. Fraser Tytler, England under the Reigns of Edward VI. and Mary (1839), Vol. I., p. 340.]

Gentle Mr. Cecil. I have received your letter of the 14th of November, and thank you most heartily for the good comfort you put me in of my short return, and for the travail yourself hath taken in the same. I have written letters of thanks to my Lords of Somerset and Warwick, of whose good agreement I do rejoice even at the bottom of my heart; for in so doing consisteth their own healths, and the upright administration of the commonwealth. . . .

I hear here a great bruit of the discontentation of our people upon a late proclamation touching cheese and butter; of a little thing we make here a great matter. And surely, if there be no other thing than I do see in the thing, the matter might even as well have been spared. I have seen so many experiences of such ordinances; and ever the end is dearth, and lack of the thing that we seek to make *good cheap*. Nature will have her course, etiam si furca expellatur; and never shall you drive her to consent that a *penny*-worth of new shall be sold for a *farthing*. If *good cheap* follow this device, then hereafter will I think it were good the like were still used; but this I am sure, the thing shall not be so plentiful as it was, and then I report me to you whether it will be better cheap. For who will keep a cow that may not sell the milk for so much as the merchant and he can agree upon?

See what a babbling I make, being clean ignorant of the case! I doubt not but my Lords saw what they did, and therefore I may hold my peace like a fool. . . .

From Bloys, the 4th day of December 1550.

Your own most assuredly,

John Masone.

8. HIGH PRICES AND DEPRECIATION IN NORWICH, 1551.

[Norwich Municipal Archives, Depositions taken before the Mayor and Aldermen of Norwich (1549-1567), ff. 37b-40.]

Margaret Sutton, the wief of Ralph Sutton, sworn and examyned saith and deposeth: that she was this day at Mordewes house in the bakhouse there, and uppon many wordes touching the hard world and the losse of money amonges them they hard Mordewe spake of extorcyoners and breybours of the country and sayed that if it please the king to make him he wolde be hangman to a hundreth of them; and saith further that she sayed and annswered him that her husbande was of the same minde that he was of, and further she cannot say.

William Mordewe examyned confessith and saith: That dyvers folks being in his bakehouse this day among them had communication uppon the great preses of grayn and victuelle, the falle and losse of money, and he himselfe alledged amongst them that the fault there of was in the men of the country for they wold not obbey the kings proclamacions nor the kings procedings, and confesseth that he said thies words, that if it please the kinge to make him hang man he wold hang a sorte of them that wold not obbey, and further saith not.

Skurwick, Bailif of Sloyly, Junyor of Asshemanhaugh, Jennys of Worsed, Thurston of Lammes,

Robert Esodde and John Brown Tanners examyned: saith that Thurston of lammas reaported to them at Sloley fayer last past and sayed thies wordes: Away with your shillings for I here say they were proclaimed at Norwich this day for a grote a pece; and they answered it was not trewe, and the saide Thurston sayed agayn, I fere me it is to trewe, for Peter Applyerd refuced to take them for vi *d.* a pece.

John Sower of Nettysherd, baylif errant of the hundred of Tunsted, being examyned saith that he being at Sloley Fayre mette with one Banges of Norwich, a tanner, and declared there to him that he was sory to here that a clamour shulde ryse of him that he shuld say that shillings shulde be but grotts, and the sayd Banges then denyed it; and said thies wordes: I never

spake it, for I have ben here ever sythens the morning, and Recyved them for vi *d.* the pece; But I wold you wold goo to Appleyard and examyn him, for he have refused to take them thies fower dayes; and this examynate demaunded of Banges if he had witnis uppon it, and further saith he went to seke for Appleyard and he had pakked upp and was gon home, and further he saith not.

William Skyrwyk of Crostwik, baylif to Mr. Groos, Sloley, sworn and examyned saith and deposith uppon his othe; That at the feyer holden at Sloley uppon St. Bartylmews day he being there hard of a Rumour aboughte Appleyardes stalle that shillings shuld be but a grote; and uppon this demaunded of Appleyerd what the matter was, and the sayed Appleyerd said to this examynate; That one Lytellwood of Skoruston told it him that shillings that day was proclaimed at Norwich for a grote; and there uppon this deponente went to Lyttelwode and examyned him uppon thiese words, and the sayed Lytelwood sayed he hard it of one Jennor of Asshemanhaugh, and so this examynate having immediately the sede Lyttellwood and Jennor together, the sede Jennor ded confess that he sayed so, and being demaunded by this examynate where he hard the same he said that one Banges told it to him, and this examynate went to Banges to knowe of him the Raport, and requyred Jennor to tary, and then Banges denyed it and Jennor went awey from thens, and this examinate seking for him cold not fynde him, and further he say not. . . .

Reynold Thurston of lammes, tanner, sworn and examyned etc., deposeth and saith: That at Sloley Fayer he wente from his stalle towards the bochery, and at Appleyerds stalle one Adam Jemmes and Appleyerde were at wordes because Appleyerd wold not receyve shillings for sexepens a pece, for that he hard say they shuld goo but for a groote, and excepte Jemmes wold bere the losse the seyde Appleyerd wold not take them any otherwyse, and immediately came John Sower to this examynate and said that Appleyerd denyed to take them ii dayes before, and further saith not; and this examynate further saith: That the seide Appleyerd seyed at Walsham market uppon Thursday last past that he knewe the Rowte ii Howrs

before lytelwood or any other cam to him, and that for a woman a frend of him told it him whome he wold not betarraye, John Gayon being present, and further doth not depose. John Joynor of Asshemanhaugh, husbondman, sworn and examynd saith and deposeth: That he being at Sloley fayor helping one Lytellwood of Thornton to pak upp his cloth aboughte v of the clok towrds nighte, Banges came to this examynate and demaunded of him howe many shillings he had in store, and this examynate declared that he had some, and the seid Banges bidde him put them away for they are but groots a pece; and this deponente askd him if it were proclaimed and he sayd yea, as he thoughte, this day, and so departed and further saith not.

John Lytelwood of Skoruston, mercer, sworne and examyned saith and deposeth: That the daye aforesaid at the Fayrer of Sloley he had ther a boothe, and oon John Joyner of Ashemanhaw being with hym and helpyng hym to fold upp cloth, Onn Rychard Banges of Norwiche tanner cam unto this deponentes stall to the said Jyner whiche was about oon or twoo of the clook after noon the same daye and pluck him by the sleve, and gave hym an handfull perys, and then ded talke to him pryvily and said to him that a shylling was but worth iiii *d.* of corant money, whiche words this deponent saith he hard, and because this deponent wuld have Further Knowlege in this matter ded aske the said Joyner what thing it was that Banges had declared unto hym, and he said that he told hym that shyllings was but iiii *d.* of corant money, and further he saith not.

9. RISE IN THE PRICES OF CLOTH GOODS, 1551.

[A. H. Johnson, The History of the Worshipful Company of the Drapers of London (1915), Vol. II., pp. 395-96.]

The x° day of July. It was by our Maister declaryd that Commaundement was gyven that my lord mayre shold Certifye to our counsell what answer Euery Company Shold declare what was the Occasyon of the darthe of their Seuerall kynds of wares. Wherevpon this Answer ensuyng was devysed by our Company.

Where Welche Cottons aboute this tyme iiij yeres were solde by the clothmen for vij$^{d.}$ the goyde, nowe at this present daye thei be by theim solde for xiij$^{d.}$ and xiij$^{d.}$ *ob.* the goyde.

Chesshire Cottons aboute that tyme were then solde for vij$^{li.}$ the packe, and al theis dayes be solde for xiiij$^{li.}$ and xiiij$^{li.}$ x$^{s.}$ the packe.

Welshe sryses[1] abowte that tyme the best were solde for xxiij$^{s.}$ and xxiiij$^{s.}$ the pece, and nowe be solde for xlvj$^{s.}$ viij$^{d.}$ the pece.

Bristowe syrses[1] aboute that tyme were then solde for xxiiij$^{s.}$ and xxv$^{s.}$ the pece, and nowe be solde for xliiij$^{s.}$ and xlv$^{s.}$ the pece.

Northen kerseys the packe were then solde at xxiiij$^{li.}$, and nowe be at xl$^{li.}$

Hampshire kerseis were then solde at xxix$^{li.}$ the packe, and nowe thei be at l$^{li.}$ the packe and lij$^{li.}$

Devonshire dossens were then solde at xxvj$^{li.}$ the packe, and nowe thei be at l$^{li.}$ the packe.

Northen dossens were then solde at xxiij$^{li.}$ the packe, and nowe thei be at xxxviij$^{li.}$ the packe.

Penyston whytes were then solde at xv$^{s.}$ and xvj$^{s.}$ the pece, and nowe thei be at xxx$^{s.}$ and xxxij$^{s.}$ the pece.

Suffolke sorting clothes were then solde at iij$^{li.}$ vj$^{s.}$ viij$^{d.}$ and iij$^{li.}$ xiij$^{s.}$ iiij$^{d.}$ the pece, and nowe thei be at vij$^{li.}$ and vij$^{li.}$ vj$^{s.}$ viij$^{d.}$ the pece.

Kentysshe clothes were lykewyse then solde at vj$^{li.}$, and nowe thei be at x$^{li.}$ and xj$^{li.}$ the pece.

fyner kentysshe clothes were then solde at x$^{li.}$ and xij$^{li.}$, and nowe thei be at xix$^{li.}$ and xx$^{li.}$

And all other kynde of clothe made within this Realme is lykewyse raysed at suche lyke pryces, And the pryces notwithstandinge, the sayde clothe was never so yll and falsely made.

[1] *Sic.* Should no doubt read 'fryses.'

10. MEMORANDUM ON THE REASONS MOVING QUEEN ELIZABETH TO REFORM THE COINAGE, 1559.

[S.P.D. Eliz., Vol. XI., No. 6.]

An opinion of her Majestie for reducinge of her coigne to the state it was in before her fathers warrs to Bologne with the reasons moving her therunto.

Her highnes weyinge and consideringe the state of this her realme and crowne in tyme past, the greate expenses of her Auncetors by reason of their warrs, and their abilitie not onely to support the same, but also to leave greate treasure behind them: And conferring therewith all her longe and happy peace (in which tymes princes grow riche) and the greate want and insufficiencie of her reuennues and treasures to supply the ordinarie charge and defence of her dominions: she cold not but with greate care studdie theruppon, and devise for remedy of the same. And after sondry debatementes and consultations with her selfe, she is by divers reasons induced to conceiue, that the greatest and almost the only cause thereof hathe proceded by the inhauncementes of the coigne in the tyme of her father and brother, and that the only remedy therof is to reduce the monies to the auncient standerd of iij *s.* iiij *d.* the ounz, as it was in the tyme of her said father.

Her highnes conceiuethe that vppon the avauncement of the monie from iij *s.* iiij *d.* to v *s.* the ounz siluer, and gold ratably, that her subjectes, to encontre the damage therof, encreased their rentes and prices from x to xv, and from xx to xxx in shillinges and poundes, and sustained smale losse therby.

On the other side her majesties losse hathe bin not only of a thirde in all her receiptes, but also a surcharge of a thirde in all her expenses, which is in trauthe a losse and consuminge of halfe her revenue, so that it semethe vnto her highnes, that yf this remedy had bin provided for in tyme, she might have had in treasure, vppon all eventes, almost as moche as she hathe expended. And this remedy her majestie knowethe she may provyde by her owne authoritie, and the rather thinkethe theruppon at this tyme, considering her parlament is at hand wherby

any greate inormite to insue may by consultacion be provyded for.

Her highnes hathe also thaught vppon what may be opposed on the other side, that by this reducement of the monie greate numbres of her people might heavely suffre, and so it might breede moche discontentacion among them.

1. As first of all, and cheifly aboue others, farmers and tennantes wiche dwell vppon improved rentes.

2. The second care aught to be of them which are indebted, etc.

3. The third of merchauntes in parties beyond the seas, who yf proclamacion shold be made vppon a soddeine to reduce the monie as aforesaid, taking vpp monye by exchaunge afore proclamacion after the rates of poundes forreine to pay so many poundes Englishe, their paymentes growing due after proclamacion shold be moche damnified.

4. Forthly it hathe bin moche feared, least when the monye shold be braught to soche fines, that it wilbe transported out of the realme.

For answere, though her majestie thinketh that she were to moche streighted in so manifest an iniurie and decay of her revenue, growing without her owne fact, which importethe her highnes and hole common welthe far more then any priuat subiectes case can or doth import himself, lying in her owne power and authorite to remedy, to forbeare the same for any priuate respect, yet, being carefull for the releefe and satisfaction of every membre of her estate, thinketh that consideration may be had of bothe as insueth, the parlament being at hand.

And so thinkethe convenient a little before the parlament by proclamacion to calle downe her coignes to the rats aforesaid, and so may all grevances which may ensue thervppon be considered and remeded.

[1.] And as for tennantes of improved rentes, her majestie is perswaded that it were not iniurious if it shold be inacted by authoritie of her estates, that the tennant during his terme from date of her proclamacion shold not answere his Lordes rent, but after the rate of the abatement of the value of the monie, viz. for every pound a marke, where the Lorde shall not be moche

hindered, being able to performe almost every way as moche with the marke as he was with the pound.

2. For soche as are in debt, yf her highnes by consent of parlament shall provide that every man after the day of proclamacion shall accept his debt and payment according to the proportion of the monie reduced, viz. for every pound a marke, she thinketh the creditor not hindered therby for the reasons aforesaide. And in this parte of the Lawe her highnes demeth it convenient that like provision shold be made for all bandes knoledged for performance of covenantes etc. since the tyme of the inhauncement of the treasure.

3. Toching the third parte of the providence of the merchantes exchaunge till this be executed, it may be thaught vppon that some secrett aduertisment be geeven to the governor of Flaunders, that they make their exchaunges from hencforthe, not after the rate of pound flemishe or inglishe, but after the rate and nombre of crownes, as all other merchauntes Straungers doo, wherby they can sustayne no losse vppon any event.

4. And as concerning the forth, of the feare of transporting the treasure, being fine, and in value as is here mentioned, it appeareth not vnto her majestie how her merchaunt may more avayle him selfe then he dothe at this present, for the straunger never respecteth our value, but the goodnes of our coigne, be it gold or siluer, according to the richnes and substaunce of his owne, and so bargainethe accordingly.

[*Endorsed*] Reducing of Coyne.

11. PROCLAMATION ANNOUNCING A REFORM OF THE COINAGE BY QUEEN ELIZABETH, 27 SEPT. 1560.

[A Booke containing all such Proclamations as were published during the Raigne of the Late Queene Elizabeth, ed. H. Dyson (1618), ff. 24-25.]

A proclamation for the valuacion of Certaine Base monies Currant in this Realme, called Testons.

The Quenes most Excellent Majestie, amongst other great and wayghtye consultacions had at sundry tymes with her

counsayle, and sometymes with other wise and expert men, for the reformation of such abuses as be thought hurtfull to the common weale of this her Realme, hath founde by consente of all sortes of wyse men, that nothyng is so grevous, ne lykely to disturbe and decaye the state and good order of this Realme, as the suffraunce of the base monies, being of dyvers standardes and mixtures, to be so aboundantly currant within this Realme, which have ben coyned in the same, before her Maiesties raigne, and no parte sence: Nor contrarywyse anye one thyng so profitable, or in short tyme to be so comfortable for al maner of people, as to have in place of the same base and copper monies, fine and good sterlyng monyes of sylver and golde. For her Maiestie well perceiveth, by the long sufferaunce of the sayde base and copper monyes, not onely her Crowne, Nobilitie, and subjectes of this her Realme to be dayly more and more impoveryshed, the auncient and singuler honour and estimacion, which this Realme of Englande had beyonde all other, by plentye of monies, of golde, and sylver, onely fine and not base, is hereby decayed and vanyshed away: but also by reason of these sayde base monyes, great quantitie of forged and counterfaites have ben and be dayly made and brought from beyonde the seas, for the which the auncient fine golde and sylver, and the riche marchaundise of this Realme is transported and dayly caryed out of the same, to the impoveryshyng therof, and enrychyng of others. And finally hereby all maner of prices of thynges in this Realme, necessarye for sustentacion of the people, growe dayly excessive to the lamentable and manifeste hurte and oppression of the state, speciallye of Pensioners, souldyers, and all hyred servauntes, and other meane people that lyve by any kynde of wages, and not by rentes of landes, or trade of marchaundyse.

For reformation wherof, to the great honour and estimacion of this Crowne and Kyngdome, the recovery and stay of the treasure of this Realme, the reliefe and comforte of all that be herewith oppressed: Her Maiestie hath after great deliberacion had, with such as in these cases be wysest and most expert men, determined by advice of her counsayle, with the easyest and lyghtest burden of all maner sortes of people, to abolyshe

the sayde corrupte, base, and copper monyes, and to restore the owners therof to fine monyes, of as good sylver and golde as at anye tyme hath ben in this Realme, and to have al the monyes of this Realme to be of one sorte of finenesse, riches and goodnes, as may be a treasure of estimacion. For which purpose, Her Maiestie meanyng fyrste to have all the base and copper monyes of the Realme reduced, as nygh to theyr values as may be: doth by advice of her counsayle, ordeyne, proclayme and value the base monyes coyned and nowe currant within this Realme, beyng not counterfaict, immediatly after this present Proclamacion made, to be currant at the values hereafter folowyng, and not above.

The peece of base monye of a peny, to be hereafter currant for and at one halfepeny farthyng. The peece of two pence, for and at three halfepence. The Teston of sixe pence, to be currant for and at foure pence halfpeny: saving and exceptyng a certayne [number] of moste base sortes of Testons, being by estimacion not above the sixte part of the numbre of the whole base Testons, coyned within this Realme, and marked in the uppermost part of the sayde Teston in the border therof on both sydes the Teston, with one of these foure kyndes of markes, that is, eyther of a Lion, a Rose, a Harp, or a Floure deluce, which Testons be so base and full of copper, as is easy to be sene and understande, and differ so much in value from al the rest of the base Testons, that they cannot, without great inconvenience to the Realme, by reason of the multitude of counterfaictours, beare any convenient or lyke value as the others do. And therefore her Maiestie by lyke advice ordeyneth, that every of the same Testons so marked with any of the foresayde foure markes, shall from henceforth be taken as currant for two pence farthyng, and no more, beyng the same as much as they be proved to conteyne in value, and so to continue as currant monye onely duryng the space of foure monethes hereafter. And for the reliefe of such persons as shall possesse any of them: Her Maiestie is pleased of her mere goodnesse to susteyne the burden, and cause not onely to be delyvered at her mint in London, at any time within the sayd space of the sayde foure monethes, for every of the sayd Testons so marked, the summe

of two pence farthyng, of good new sterlyng monyes of fine sylver, or so much more as any of the same shalbe proved to conteyne in good sylver: But also for every pounde of the same beyng brought to her mynt, over and above the sayde rate, three pence of good sterlyng sylver. And for the speedy convertyng of the other foresayde base monyes into fine monies: Her Maiestie is also pleased to geve at her sayde mynt in London for every of the sayde peeces, so much good sterlyng monyes of fine sylver, after the rate as they be nowe by this Proclamation rated, valued and made currant. And for the more spede to be used also in the conversion therof, and thereby the full abolyshyng of all maner of the sayde base monies: Her Maiestie is pleased to beare the charge, and to geve further in rewarde to the bryngers therof, for every twenty shyllynges of them so brought to the sayde mynt, and exchaunged, three pence of lyke good fine monyes.

And for the better execution hereof, her Maiestie strayghtly chargeth and warneth al maner of persons to observe all former lawes and orders, provyded agaynst such as to the greate hurte of the common weale shall carry, conceale, or consent to the carrying out of this Realme or meltyng of any maner monyes eyther base or fine, currant within the same; upon payne as in former lawes and orders hath ben and is provyded, accordyng to the qualitie or excesse of the fault, to be further punyshed, wherof her Maiestie meaneth to have straight and severe execution, as of a cryme that is directly agaynst her Maiesties Crown and dignitie, and hurtfull to all the whole bodye of the common weale.

And bycause it may be, that the knowledge and understandyng of the foresayd base Testons, being marked with the sayde markes, may be so doubtfull, by reason the markes be but small, and may be partly worne out: It is ordered, that upon any controversie therof arrysyng within any citie or towne corporate, or within any market towne not corporate, or within any other paryshe, the same shalbe thus ended and determined. That is, in every Citie or towne corporate, by the Maior, Alderman, Provost, Baylyffes, or any other that is by the same corporation the principall officer of the same. And in every

market towne not corporate, by the Justices of the peace there resydyng, yf any such be, or els by the Curate of the principall Church, and the chiefe officer or baylyffe of the toll of the same market. And in every other paryshe, eyther by the Justice of the peace, yf any resyde within one myle, or elles by the Curate of the parishe and the two Constables, or headborowes, or any two of them, to whose judgement it is ordered both the parties which shall pay and receive, shall stande and abyde, concernyng the valuacion of the sayde base Testons.

Fynally, her Maiestie chargeth all maner of Justices, Maiors, Sheryffes, and other publique ministers, that have by any maner waye iurisdiction or aucthoritie to see markets and fayres governed, or victualles to be reasonably assised, that they attende upon theyr offices, and prevent and stay the malicious covetousnes of any suche, as uppon this Proclamacion shall seke to avaunce or inhaunce the accustomed prices of any maner of victuall, or suche other necessary thynges. And yf nede shall require, to punyshe the offendours herein with spede and severitie, and therein to use no delaye, as they wyll aunswere at theyr peryll.[1]

God save the Quene.

12. THE EARL OF HUNTINGDON TO CECIL ON DIFFICULTIES IN LEICESTER ABOUT CALLING IN THE BASE MONEY, 29 NOV., 1560.

[S.P.D. Eliz., Vol. XIV., No. 49.]

My most hartye commendacyons remembryd, these may be to Let you understand that for because I haue Latelye wrytten 2 Lettres unto my Lordes of the councell (bothe allmost to one effect) touchyng the state of thys shyre, I wylle not presume to trouble theyr honors agayne presentlye, but trustyng that I

[1] With this should be compared the 'summary of certain reasons, which have moved Queen Elizabeth to proceed in reformations of her base and coarse Moneys. . . . Appointed to be declared by her Majesty, by order of her Proclamation, in her City of London' (29 Sept., 1560). (Ruding, *Annals of the Coinage* (1817), Vol. II., pp. 137-42.)

maye be bolder with you than yt ys mete I shulde be with theym, I wyll declare unto you what inconuenyence heare ys groune emongest the people for too pens farthynge. Euerye bodye ys Lothe to take theym, and nowe syns they doo perceyue that whosoeuer dothe refuse theym shall be punysshyd, and that yt ys strayghtlye Lokyd unto, as in deade I haue causyd yt to be, now sum of the merkettes begynne to be unseruyd, and so I thynke I shall fynde the rest will be, which at theyr market dayes I will understand, for I haue sent to euerye market toune wythyn the shyre. I must desyre your aduyse what waye I shulde use for remedye of the yll which allreadye ys begunne and I feare wyll increase, and surelye the poorest haue and wyll haue the worste of yt, for that kynde of coyne ys emongest theym verrye common, and the ryche wylle be sure to utter no other coyne but that, yf they may; and the onely cause ys for that at the end of foure monythes after the proclamacyon, those testones of too pens farthyng yt ys thoughte they shall no more be currante, as in deede I gather no Less by the wordes of the proclamacyon. Truely, syr, I can deuyse none so apte a remedye for all inconuenyencys as the hauyng quykelye of new monye. For upon that imedyatelye the merkettes, I thynke, wyll be well storyd of all thynges, and so euerye thyng must neades be better cheape, and also the Losse which ys now Lyke to falle amongest the poore wyll that waye be preuentyd. This ys my foolyshe and rashe opynyon, which I meane shall be rulyd by your aduyse, and to that end cheflye I wryte at thys present. Thus Leauyng any Longer to trouble you, I referr all to your wysdom and your selfe to the gouernment of the Allmyghtye. From Lubsthorpe the 29 of Nouem., 1560.

Your assured poore frend
H. Huntyngdon.

[*Addressed*] To my Louyng frend Mr. Secretary Cycyll one of the quens maiestyes most honorable pryuye councell.

[*Endorsed*] xxixth of Nouember 1560 Erle of Huntingdon to my Master.

13. THE MAYOR OF BRISTOL REPORTS PROGRESS IN THE CALLING IN OF THE BASE MONEY, 30 JAN., 1561.

[S.P.D. Eliz., Vol. XVI., No. 10.]

Right honorable, my dutie to your honorable Lordshippes in moost humble wise remembred. Where of late I receved your moost honorable lettres bering date the xv^th^ daie of this present January, by Robert Welles and Frauncys Eton of London, gold smithes, touching the somme of one m poundes in new monyes sent downe by the quenes majestie in the chardge of the same Robert and Fraunces, to be here distributed to the poorer sort in exchaunge of their base moneis of ij *d. q3*[1]; and for want of suche base monyes, the residue of the said fyne monyes to be exchanged for peces of iiij *d. ob.* and j *d. ob.*, taking for the exchanging of the said base monyes but vij *d.* in the pound, as in the said lettres emongest other thinges is declared: Thise shalbe therefore to signifie vnto your honors that, for the better accomplishement of the quenes majesties moost godlie meanyng and your honors commaundment in that behalf, I and my bretherne, the Aldermen of this Citie, did not onlie appoint a verie discrete Citezyn here to accompany the said Goldsmithes in the tyme of the said exchange of the monyes aforesaied, but also we our self had ernest regard that they [*sic*] said Goldsmythes did not receve for the exchange of the said base monyes above vij *d.* in the pounde, and that they receved no pece of the base moneys of iiij *ob.* or j *d. ob.* in exchaunge of the said Fyne monyes so longe as the said peces of ij *d. q3* were brought in to be exchanged for new monyes. During the whiche tyme of exchange (notwithstonding we caused proclamacion to be made that all persons shold repayer vnto the place of exchange with there base monyes of ij *d. q3.* where they shold have Fyne monyes in exchange for the same, paing for the same exchange as above saied), yet litle more then the somme of iiij^c^ *li.* of the peces of ij *d. q3* were brought into the said place of exchange (any somme of that base mony were it never so little not being refused). And for that we well perceved that the said Goldsmythes cold not have sufficient of ij *d. q3*, we gave further notice by proclamacion

[1] i.e. a farthing.

also that all persons that wold resort to the said place of exchange shold have fyne monyes for the base monyes of iiij *d. ob.* and j *d. ob.*, paing for the exchange of the same iiij *d.* in the pounde onlie. Thise practises notwithstonding, suche smalle sommes of the base moneys of iiij *d. ob.* and j *d. ob.* were brought in to be exchanged, that the said Robert Welles and Frauncis Eton were (for the better dispatche of the said new monyes) inforced to take the said sommes of iiij *d.* in the pounde as aforesaid. And it may further please your honorable Lordshippes that I have (for the better declaracion of the premisses) sent you her enclosyd a note indented of the particular sommes of base monyes receved by the said Goldsmythes in exchange of the said fyne monyes, signed with my hand. And thus The lord preserve yowre honorable Lordshippes in long and prosperouse liffes. From Bristold the xxxth of January 1560 [*i.e.* 1561].

Your Honorable Lordshippes moost humble to commaunde

William Carr, mayer.

[*Addressed*] To the moost honorable lordes of the quenes majesties moost honorable Counsell.

[*Endorsed*] xxx of January 1560. The Maiour of Bristoll to the Lordes of the Counsail. Certificat of the goldsmithes doinges there in thexchange of new monnyes for basse.

[*Enclosure with the above.*]

Bristoll. A note of the particular sommes of base monyes exchanged into new monies by Fraunces Eton and Robert Welles, begone the xxvth daie of January Anno 1560, and ended the xxxth of the same moneth.

In primis, in peces of ij *d. qz.*, xlvj^{m} v^{c} xlvj peces amounting to iiij^{c} xxxvj *li.* vij *s.* iiij *d. ob.*

In pecis of iiij *d. ob.*, xij^{m} iiij^{c} lxxij peces—ij^{c} xxxiij *li.* xvij *s.*

In pecis of j *d. ob.*, liiij^{m} viij^{c} v pecis—iij^{c} xlij *li.* x *s.* vij *d. ob.*

Somma, j^{m} xij *li.* xv *s.*

William Carr, mayer.

14. DEBASEMENT OF THE IRISH COINAGE BY ELIZABETH, 1600.

[The Itinerary of Fynes Moryson (Glasgow, 1907), Vol. II., pp. 357-38.]

[March 3rd, 1600] Here his Lordship [Lord Mountjoy, Lord Deputy of Ireland] received from the Lords directions to descrie the silver mony, and to proclaime a new coine, three ounces fine;[1] which base money was sent over, onely to impoverish the Rebels (as was pretended) who made warre against the Queene with her owne treasure; but in conclusion it was the undoing of all the Queenes servants there, for no man cared to lay it up, and all things were bought at excessive rates, after the exchange in England once failed. This exchange was proclaimed to be held at three Cities in England, and foure in Ireland; but by reason that great summes were coyned by Rebels and strangers, and for other abuses of the same, as namely of the Merchants, who notwithstanding that the money was duly changed, did excessively raise all prices, this exchange soone failed, and our hearts therewith: for we served there in discomfort, and came home beggars, so that onely the Treasurers and Paymasters (who were thereby infinitely inriched) had cause to blesse the Authors of this invention.

[1] 'This base mixed money had 3 parts of copper, and the fourth part of silver, which proportion of silver was in some part consumed by the mixture, so as the English Goldsmiths valued a shilling thereof at no more than 2 silver pence, though they acknowledged the same to be worth 2 pence halfe penny.' *Ib.* II., pp. 138-39.

SECTION V.—TAXATION.

1. A SURVEY OF THE CUSTOMS AT THE END OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY, *c.* 1473-1502.

[The Customs of London, otherwise called Arnold's Chronicle (1811 ed.), pp. 193-97.]

The Rate of the Kyngis Custum and Subside of Marchaundises registred in the Escheker.

The Custom of Clothe wythout greyn.

The Kingis subgettis pay for custum of a cloth xiiii *d.* The Spaynardis paye for custum of a cloth xiiii *d.* The Hanse payth xii *d.*; and aliaunts pay for a cloth ii *s.* ix *d.*

The Custum of Cloth in greyn.

The kyngis subgettis payeth for every cloth ii *s.* iiii *d.* The Spaynards pay ii *s.* iiii *d.* The Hanse payeth ii *s.* Other straungers pay v *s.* vi *d.*

The Custum of Cloth half grayned.

The kyngis subgettis pay for suche cloth xxi *d.* The Spaynardis pay xxi *d.* The marchaunt of the Hanse paye xviii *d.* Other straungers paye iiii *s.* i *d.*

The Subside of Cloth as wel in greine as ungreyned, after the valuore of every pounde.

The kyngis subgettis for subside paye nothinge. The Spaynardis paye nothinge. The Hanse paye nothinge. Other straungers paye for subside of every *li.*, xii *d.*

Custum of Sengle Wursted.

The kyngis subgettis, the Spaynardis and marchauntis of the Hanse pay for custum of every pece i *d.* and all other straungers payd for custom i *d. ob.*

The Custum of the Doubll Worsted.

The kyngis subgettis, the Spaynardis, and marchauntis of the Hans, pay for every pece custum ii *d.* and all oder straungers paye iii *d.*

The Custum of every bed Sengle Wursted.

The subgettis of England, the Spaynardis, and the marchauntis of the Hans pay for custum of every pece, v *d.* and all other straungers paye vij *d. ob.*

The Custum of bedds Double Wursted.

The kyngis subgettis, the marchauntis of the Hanse, and the Spaynardis pay for custum of every suche pece ix *d.* and all other marchauntis straungers pay xiii *d. ob.*

The Subsidie of every pound value of Wursted sengle and double, and of the Wursted beddis sengle and double.

The kyngis subgettis, the Spaynardis, and marchauntis of the Hanse pay for subsidie of the ponde i *d.* Alle other straungers pay xii *d.*

Custum of Waxe, and subside.

For every C waxe alle marchauntis paye for custum xii *d.* The kyngis subgettis, the marchauntis of Spayne, and of the Hanse pay nothynge for subsidie of noo maner waxe. All other marchauntis straungers paye for subsidie xii *d.*

Custum and Subsidie of Wynes.

The marchauntis off England and of Spayne pay tonnage for every tonne iii *s.* The marchauntis of the Hanse and other marchauntis straungers paye for custume of every tonne ii *s.* And the other marchauntis straungers paye for subside iii *s.*

The Custum and Subside of every tonne Swete Wyne.

The marchauntis of England and of Spayne paye for tonnage iii *s.* The marchauntis of the Hanse and alle marchauntis straungers paye for custum ii *s.* And the marchauntis straungers paye for subside iii *s.*

Custum and Subside of Tyne be the *li.* value.

The marchauntis of England and of Spayne paye for subside xii *d.* The Hanse and marchauntis straungers paye for custum iii *d.* And the marchauntis straungers for subside paye ii *d.* [*s.*]

Custum of Pewter and Subside be the *li.* value.

The marchauntis of England and of Spayne paye for subside

xii *d.* And the marchauntis straungers paye for subside ii *s.* And the same marchaunt straungers paye for custum iii *d.*

The Custum and Subside off Wulle and Felle shipped to Caleis.

The merchaunt of the stapil payeth for custum of a sac vi *s.* viii [*d.*]

Item he payed for subside xxxiii *s.* iiii *d.*

Item for every cc xl wulle fellis for custum vi *s.* viii *d.*

Item for subside of the same, xxxiii *s.* iiii *d.*

Custum and Subside shyppyd in to other parties of Wulle and Felle.

Every marchaunt [straunger] payeth for custum of a sac x *s.*

Item for subside iii *li.* vi *s.* viii *d.*

Item for the comyng to Caleis viii *d.*

Item of every cc xl skynnes of wull fel every marchaunt payth for custum x *s.* and every marchaunt paith for subside iii *li.* vi *s.* viii *d.*

Item for devernn[1] they pay viii *d.*

Custum and Subside of Ledur.

The marchaunt of England payth for every last ledur tanned, for custum xiii *s.* iiii *d.*

Item for the subside iii *li.* vi *s.* viii *d.*

Item for deveryn[1] to Caleis xvi *d.*

The marchaunt of Spayne payed for custum xiii *s.* iiii *d.*

Item for subside iii *li.* vi *s.* viii *d.*

Item deveryn,[1] [to] Calais viii *d* [*sic*].

The marchaunt straungers pay for custum xx *s.*

Item for subside iii *li.* xiii *s.* iiii *d.*

Item deveryn,[1] [to Ca]lais xvi *d.*

The Charge for the Coketis of Marchaundices.

All maner of marchauntis shal pay for his coket ii *d.*

The Custum and Subside of every *li.* value of alle other Marchaundise.

The English marchaunt payde for subside xii *d.* and the marchaunt of Spayne xii *d.* The marchaunts of the Hans paye

[1] I.e., deverium, duty. The "Calais penny" or "Calais money" was a small sum paid on every sack of wool or wool fells sent out of England to any place abroad other than the Staple at Calais.

for subside ii *d.*[1] the same marchaunts pay for custum iii *d.* All other marchauntis [straungers] paye for custum iii *d.*, and for subside xii *d.*

2. THE AMICABLE LOAN, 1525.

(1)

[Hall's Chronicle (1809 ed.), pp. 696-97.]

Now were Commissioners sent to the clergie for the fourth part of their landes and moueables, and in euery assembly the priestes answered, that thei would pay nothyng, except it were graunted by Conuocacion, otherwise not: for thei saied, that neuer kyng of England did aske any mannes goodes, but by an ordre of the lawe, and this Commission is not by the ordre of the lawe: wherefore they saied, that the Cardinall and all the doers thereof were enemies to the kyng, and to the common wealthe. This infamie was spoken in preachynges, and euery where.

When this matter was opened through Englande, howe the greate men toke it was maruell, the poore curssed, the riche repugned, the light wittes railed, but in conclusion all people curssed the Cardinal, and his coadherentes as subuersor of the Lawes and libertie of Englande. For thei saied, if men should geue their goodes by a Commission, then wer it worse then the taxes of Fraunce, and so England shoulde be bond and not free.

It happened at Redyng in Barkeshire, that the Commissioners satte for this money to be graunted, and the people in no wise would consent to the sixt parte: but of their awne mere mynde, for the loue they bare to the kyng, they graunted the twelueth parte, that is xx *d.* of the pounde; the Commissioners hearing this, said they would sende to the Cardinal, desiryng hym to be content with this offre, and so the Lorde Lisle wrote the letter, so that sir Richard Weston would beare it, the which letter at the request of the gentlemen of the countrey, the said

[1] Possibly an error for xii *d.*

sir Richard toke vpon him to cary and roade to the Cardinall: whiche therewith was sore greued, and said, but because that the lorde Lisle wrote that the matter was but communed of and not concluded, it should cost the lorde Lisle his hedde and his landes should be solde to paie the kyng the values, that by him and you folishe commissioners he had lost, and all your liues at the kynges will: these words sore astonied Sir Richard Weston, but he said litle.

Then the Cardinall wrote letters to all Commissioners of the realme that they should kepe their first instruccion, and in no wise to swarue one iote, vpon pain of their liues, and euery man to be valued according to the valuacion taken in the xiiii yere. This laste poynte sore touched the citee of London, for the Cardinall in the xiiii yere sent one Doctor Tunes, his secret Chapelein, to the Chapter house of Paules, promisyng to the Londoners, that whatsoeuer they valued themselfes at, that no man should knowe it, but the kyng, the Cardinall, and he, vpon whiche promesse many persones for their more credite, and to be the higher estemed, valued theimselfes at a greater substaunce then they were worthe: thynkyng neuer to lande or paie by that confession, for the loane and the subsidie were paied accordyng as men were sessed, and not by Master Tunes boke, when men valued themselves, not knowing what should succede.

Now in this tyme was that subtile valuacion laied to their charge, which when they perceiued, they murmured muche, and said they would paie nothyng, except the kynges lawes, vnder which they were borne, so determined it: But this notwithstanding, Commissioners went out to euery shire, for the leuie of the saied money, but for all that could be perswaded, saied, lied, and flatered, the demaunde could not bee assented to, saiyng, that they that sent furthe suche Commissioners were subuerters of the lawe, and worthy to be punished as traytors. So that in all the realme were billes set vp, in all places: Some billes saied, that the kyng had not paied that he borowed: Some saied that the Subsedy amounted treble more than he had bestowed: other saied whatsoeuer was graunted, no good came of it; and other saied that the

Cardinall sent al the money to Rome, thus was the mutteryng through all the realme with curses and wepynges, that pitie it was to beholde.

(2)

[Letters and Papers of the Reign of Henry VIII., Vol. IV., Pt. I., No. 1567, p. 704.]

[Aug. 13, 1525.] The seyng of Gorge Cob to Wyllyam Wodwall of Rugby, beyng petty colectur; when the seyd Wyllyam com to aske the Kynges money the seyd Gorge made hym anessor, and seyd he hade no justes to paye ys money, and was not greabull to yt, and then the seyd collectur seyd to hym he wolde not be dreffyn no longer from daye to day for yt; and the seyde Gorge made hym anssessar that yt was a gret robyng of money howte of the contre, boot and he moste nedes pay yt he wold, and soo wolde paye no money to hym at that tyme. Per me, Willelmo Wodwall.

3. EXTRACT FROM 'AN ACTE CONTEYNYNG A GRAUNTE OF SUBSEDY UNTO THE KINGES HIGHNES FOR A XV AND X^TH' (26 HENRY VIII., c. 19), 1534.

[Stats. of the Realm, Vol. III., pp. 516, *seq.*]

I. [Sets forth the wise government of the King for twenty-five years, and the heavy costs sustained by him in the Scottish and Irish wars, and in the fortification of Calais; also his intention to build divers fortresses for the defence of the Scottish Marches and the sea coasts, and especially to repair the haven at Calais, and to make a new port and haven at Dover.]

All which consideracions beyng by the Kynges saide most lovyng subjectes in this Parliamente assembled depely and sincerely revolved, animadverted, perpended and considered, wherebye they do very facylly perceyve the entier love and zeale which the Kynges saide Highnes alwayes hathe borne and nowe intendeth to the conservacyon, mayntenance and increase of the wealthie estate of this Realme and the weale, proffytte,

commoditie and quietnes of his people and subjectes of the same, And that his Highnes seketh not the same wealthe onely for his owen tyme, beyng a man mortall as well as others, butt of a mere naturall zeale and ardente desyre that he hathe to provyde for the suretie and weale of this his saide Realme to contynewe for ever hereafter, as hitherto it hathe bene sagely by the highe provydence of God and the greate prudence and policye of the Prynces, Kinges and Governours of the same well governed and preserved, They thynke that of verye equytie, reason and good congruence they are bounde for the declaration of theyre synceritie, love, duetie and obedience towardes oure saide Sovereign Lorde and Kyng to shewe unto the same like correspondence of zeale, gratuyte and kyndnes; And therefore, consideryng not only all the saide charges whiche the Kynges Highnes hathe and shall susteyne for the weale, mayntenaunce and defence of this his Realme and his lovyng people and subjectes of the same as ys aforesaide, Butt also the greate force, strength, suretie, benefytt and commoditie that shall and maye ensewe to this Realme and subjectes therof, as well by the makyng and renewyng of the saide Havens at Dovorre and Caleys as by the reformation of the saide londe of Irelonde, intendyng, lyke trewe, faithfull and lovyng subjectes, of mere love and obedience towardes his Highnes theyre naturall Sovereign liege Lorde and Kyng, to supporte and beare withe the same towardes his saide charges; Have by one hole common assente and agreament in and with the assente of the Lordes spirituall and temporall in the saide parliament lykewise assembled, by auctoritie of this presente parliament, gyven and graunted to the Kynges Highnes one hole xv^{me} and x^{me} to be had, takyn, levyed and perceyved of goodes, movables, cattalls and other thynges to suche xv and x usually contributorye and chargeable within Counties, Cities, Boroughes and Townes and other places of this Realme of Englonde in maner and fourme aforetyme used: The saide xv^{me} and x^{me} to be paide in the feaste of all Sayntes whiche shalbe in the yere of oure Lorde God, MvCxxxvij.

II. Be it further enacted by auctoritie aforsaide, that the Knyghtes elected and returned of and for the Shires within this Realme for this present parliament, Citezens of Cities and

Bourgesys of Boroughes and Townes, where Collectours have bene used to be named or apoynted for the collection of any xv^me^ and x^me^ before this tyme graunted, shall name and apoynte sufficyent and able persones for the collection of the saide xv^me^ and x^me^ in everye of the saide Shires, Cities, Boroughes and Townes, and the names and surnames of everye of the saide Collectours for the saide xv^me^ and x^me^ the saide Knyghtes, Citezens and Burgeses for the Shire, Citie or Borowgh, wherof they be elected, named and retorned, shall certefye before the Kyng in his Chauncerie on this side the laste daye of Aprill next ensewyng; The whiche saide Collectours and every of them shall have lyke alowaunce upon theire accomptes for theire fees, wages and rewardes for the collection of the saide xv^me^ and x^me^ in as large maner and forme as any Collectoure or Collectours of xv^me^ and x^me^ have hadde at any season in tyme paste.

III. And because that the saide xv^me^ and x^me^ graunted as ys aforsaide extendeth but to a small somme of moneye towardes the recompence of the charges of oure saide Sovereign Lorde, before this tyme by his Highnes susteyned in his mooste royall affayres practised for the Common welthe of this his Realme, his saide lovyng Commons have graunted unto the same our saide Sovereign one subsedye of twelve pence of every pounde and more as is under written, to be assessed, taxed, levyed, collected and taken of all maner londes and tenementes of freeholde, copyeholde or custumarye tenure, and of goodes and catalls within this Realme of Englande and other his Domynions, to be payde withyn the tyme of two yeres in maner and forme followyng, that ys to saye; Of everye person borne under the Kynges obeysaunce or beyng Denisen twelve pence of the pounde, and of every person beyng estraunger borne and not beyng Denysen, and of Guyldes, fraternyties, brotherheddes and other companyes of laye persons beyng corporatte or not corporate, two shillinges of the pounde, that is to saye; Of every of the sayde persones borne under the Kynges obeysaunce or beyng Denysen havyng of his owen in possession or in use to his proper use in fee symple or fee tayle, for terme of lyfe, for terme of yeres, in execution or by title of wardshippe, by copye of Court rolle or at will, any Honours, Castells, Manours, Londes,

Tenementes, Rentes, servyces and Hereditamentes, fees, commodities or other proffytts to the clere yerly valewe of twentie poundes or above, or of his propre goodes, catalles, debtes or moveables or other goodes and cattalles beyng in his handes or possession by reason of orphanage, testament, bequeste or otherwise, that ys to saye, coyne, plate, jewells, marchandises and blades severed from the grounde, and all other goodes and catalles aswell within this Realme as withoute, and of all sommes of Moneye to hym dewe or owyng wherof he trusteth in his conscyence to be payde, whiche in all shall extende in Londes and Tenementes as ys aforsaide to the clere yerly valewe of twentye poundes or above, or in goodes, catalles or deptes as ys aforsayde to the valewe of twentie poundes or above, shall paye unto oure saide Sovereign Lorde twelve pence of every pounde; And every of the saide Straungers borne not beyng Denysen, and every of the saide Guyldes, Fraternities, Brotherheddes and Companyes, havyng Londes, Tenementes, Annuytes, Fees or other proffyttes as ys aforsaide to the clere yerly valew of twentye pounde, or goodes, catals or debtes to the valewe of twentie poundes, shall paye two shillynges of every pounde, the beste value in every case eyther of landes or goodes to be taken for oure saide Sovereign Lorde; Excepted and deducted out of the premysses suche sommes of moneye as everye of them owethe or intendethe in his conscyence truely to paye; And also excepted and deducted all apparell of every person belongyng to his bodye beyng no jewells: All which saide severall summes of moneye shalbe taxed, sett, levyed, taken and payde to the use of our saide Sovereign Lorde at suche dayes and tymes and in suche maner and fourme as hereafter followeth; That ys to saye, the one halfe of the said subsedye shalbe payde to the use of oure sayde Sovereign Lorde to the handes of the Treasourer of his mooste honorable Chambre for the tyme beyng, in the sixthe daye of November next commyng, And the other halfe residewe of the saide subsedye shalbe payde, to the use of oure saide Sovereign Lorde, to the saide Treasourer in the syxte daye of November whiche shalbe in the yere of oure Lorde God MvCxxxvj.

IV. And be it enacted by auctoritie aforsaid, that oure sayd

Sovereign Lorde shall and maye at his pleasure appoynte and assigne under his greate seale suche and as many Comyssioners, in every Shire, Riddyng, Cities, Borowghes, Townes and other places corporate or not corporate within this Realme and other his saide Domynyons, for the dewe executyon of this acte, as shall seme unto his Grace to be necessary and expedyente; to every of whiche Commyssions one transcripte conteynyng the effecte of this acte concernyng the sayde Subsedye shalbe annexed; And that everye sorte of the saide Commyssioners, after the saide Commyssion by them receyved, shall and maye sever and dyvide them selfes to the nombre of two at the leste for the execution of theire Commyssion in Lathes, Rapes, Ryddynges, Hundredes, Wardes, Wapentakes, Townes, Parysshes and other places within the lymyttes of theyre saide Commyssion, in such maner as to them shall seme moste expedyente to be ordered and agreed; And that any suche two of the saide Commyssioners shall dyrecte there precepte or preceptes to any Constable, heedborowe, thirdeborowe, underconstable, tythyngman, borsolder, baylly, or other mynyster or honeste persone within the lymyttes of theyre Commyssyons, straytely chargyng and commaundyng them and everye of them to appere before they [*sic*] saide Commyssyoners devided as ys aforsaide, at a certayne daye and place by the sayde Commyssyoners or two of them at the leaste to be lymytted, upon the payne to everye of them of fortie pounde, there to do and accomplysshe all and every suche thyng as by the sayde Commyssyoners shalbe to them enjoyned on the behalfe of oure sayde Sovereign Lorde towchyng the dewe execution of this acte; And that everye of the sayde Commysyoners within theire lymyttes, havyng no suffycyent excuse for his absence, shall appere at the saide daye and place in his proper person and there shall prosede to the execution of this acte as shall apperteyne; And yf any person so warned make defaulte, onlesse he shalbe letted by sycknes or reasonable excuse, or refuse to do and accomplysshe suche thynges for the execution of this acte as by the same Commyssioners shalbe unto them declared or enjoyned, shall forfayte unto oure saide Sovereign Lorde xl *s.* for every suche defaute or refusall and so for every daye to be lymytted or assigned by the same Commyssioners duryng the saide two

yeres; And upon the apperaunce of everye suche officer or other person before the saide Commyssyoners or two of them at the leaste, the saide Commyssyoners shall charge and commaunde in the name of oure saide Sovereign Lorde the same officers and other persones than apperyng, as they will answer upon feithe, trowthe and duetie to the Kynges Highnes, dilygently to enquyre, serche and certefye, and trewly to declare to the saide Commyssyoners by wrytyng, at a daye and place and under a certayne peyne by the saide Commyssyoners to be prefixed and lymytted, the names and surnames of every person, bodyes polityeke, Guyldes, Fraternities and Companyes corporatte and not corporate beyng chargeable by this acte to the paymente of the Subsedye aforsaide, dwellyng within the saide severall lymyttes and places where withe they shalbe so charged, and the verye clere yerelye valewe of all Manours, Londes, Tenementes as everye suche person, bodye polytyque, Guylde, Fraternyte and company than shall have in use or possession to theyre owen uses in demeane, propretie, ferme or otherwise chargeable by this acte; And also as mouche as they can, by theyre conscyence and estimacion, the verye true and juste valewe of all such goodes and catalles, coyne and plate, stuffe of Householde, jewells of everye suche person, bodie polityque, Guyldes, Fraternyties and Companyes corporate and not corporate, and the verye debtes wherof the saide persones so commaunded to certefye thynke in theire conscyence that them selfes or the saide other persons by them to be certefyed shalbe truelye payde; And the names and surnames of all persons, as well Denysens as Straungers, inhabitauntes within this Realme, as of the saide Guyldes, Fraternyties and Companyes, and of persons beyng in the parties of beyonde the See, havyng goodes, catalles, landes and tenementes within this Realme or other the Kynges Domynyons aforsayde chargeable to the rate aforsaide and inquyrable within the lymyttes aforsaide; And of all goodes, catalles and legacyes beyng in the custodye of suche persons or Bodye polytyke, Guylde, Fraternytie and Companye as ys aforsaide, and of Manours, Londes and Tenementes beyng appoynted, wylled, bequethed or by any other meane assigned to any infante childes or other persons mariage, or for

the performance of any Will or Testament, without any concealment, drede, favour or affection; And everye sorte of suche persons so beyng commaunded by the saide Comyssioners to enquyre and certefye as ys abovesaide, at suche daye and place as by the said Commyssioners shalbe appoynted, shall certefye to the same Commyssioners all the premysses to them gyven in charge certaynlye, fully and playnlye; and yf any of them make defaute or appère and do nott make the saide certificate, that every of them so offendyng shall forfayte for every suche defaute or not certefyeng fortie shelynges, Excepted onlye reasonable excuse for his defaute by reason of sycknes or otherwise by the witnes of two credyble persons be made; And of souche as than shalbe redye to make certificate as ys aforesaide, the saide Commyssioners than beyng shall take and receyve the same, and after suche Certificate so taken the saide Commyssioners shall playnly and dylygentlye rede and perceyve the same Certificates and everye parte therof; And yf any person or other aforesaide, beyng chargeable by this acte to the saide subsedye, be certefyed before the saide Commyssioners by any other person or persons beyng charged by the saide Commyssioners to enquyre and certefye, to be of greter or more value than he or theye ys or be in dede, That then every suche person or other aforesaide, so greved by reason of suche certyficate made, shall and maye comme before the saide Commyssioners before that the same Commyssioners have made theire Certificate into the Kynges Eschequyre, and upon his or theire feithe, trouthe and honestie maye declare to the saide Commyssioners his or theire very true and juste valewe of his or theire Londes and Tenementes, Goodes, Catalles and Deptes, And that the same declaracion so by hym or them made shall stande and be effectuall, and the other Certificate made to the saide Commyssioners shalbe voyde and of none effecte; And that every spirituall person duryng the saide two yeres shalbe rated and sette accordyng to the Rates abovesaide of and for everye pounde of clere yerly value of Landes, Tenementes and other Hereditamentes, that the same spirituall person or any other to his use hathe by discente, bargayne or purchase in fee simple, fee tayle, for terme or lyfe, terme of yeres, execution by warde, by Copie of Courte Rolle or at wille,

in any Manours, Landes, Tenementes, Rentes, servyces or Hereditamentes after the true juste and clere yerly value therof in fourme above remembred; And that everye of the saide Bodies polityke, Guylde, Fraternitie and Companye sette, rated and taxed as is before saide shalbe bounde and charged by the same, and shall paye the summe or sommes upon hym to be taxed as due, towardes the payment of the saide Subsedy and to be levyed as hereafter shalbe specefied.

. . . . . .

VII. [The Commissioners shall yearly appoint Collectors to levy sums assessed. Goods of persons failing to pay shall be distrained and sold. Collectors shall pay the sums received to High Collectors and shall be allowed 2 *d.* for every 20 *s.* collected.]

VIII. [The Commissioners shall yearly appoint High Collectors in Shires, Ridings, etc., who shall receive the sums levied by the Collectors. If any collector fails to pay the sum collected the High Collector may distrain his goods.]

. . . . . .

4. A DISPUTE OVER THE COLLECTION OF TENTHS AND FIFTEENTHS, 1541.

[From Star Chamber Proceedings, Henry VIII., Vol. VII., ff. 51 *et seq.*, printed in R. H. Gretton, The Burford Records (1920), pp. 661-62.]

Bill of Complaint of Rychard Hannes and John Lambart, bayliffs of the Towne of Burford in the countie of Oxon :— John Jones, collector of the xths and xvths within the Hundred of Bampton, directed his precept vnto the said bayliffs for the leuying and getheryng of the tax graunted by Parliament in the 32nd yere of the King's [Henry VIII.] reign. Thereupon the said bayliffs caused all the Inhabytants wythin the towne of Burford to be assembled together in theyre common hall, and then and there, accordyng to theyre olde and auncyent vsage, caused a bill to be made and wryten of the names of all such persons inhabytynge within the said towne as were and shuld be contrybutory to the payment of the tax, with the somes of money that eu[e]ry of them was then taxed att. In this bill Edmond Sylvester, oone of the inhabytants of the towne, was taxed and

sessed at xx *d.*, John Barker at iij *s.* iiij *d.*, and Thomas Barton at iij *s.* iiij *d.*, after the rate of oon peny of the shelyng of the rent of eu[e]ry of theyre howses, like as all othyr were sessed. The bill was delivered to Symon Wynchester and Robert Alflete, constables of Burford, for the due collection of the money; who repayred and cam vnto the seyd Edmond Sylvester, John Barker, and Thomas Barton dyvers and sundry tymes and requyred theym to make payment of the sayd somes of money sessed and taxed vpon them according as is aforeseyd; but they, nothyng consyderyng theyre dutyes in that behalf, nor the olde and auncyent vsage and custome vsed and accustomyd within the towne, in most obstynat peruerse maner vtterly refused and denyed to paye the sayd somes. Moreover, they confederated themselves together with diuers others of the same towne, intendyng not only to wythholde and withstande the payment, but also to sett disordre and dyuysion amongst theyre cobrethren and the comyns of the towne, sayinge that they wolde make a comon wealth. Wherevppon certeyn of the auncyent men of the towne were sent vnto Sir John Bruggs, Knight, the King's Steward of the towne, desiring him to come vnto the towne for Reformacon and Redres of these abuses; who coming, found the towne greatly owte of order and good Rule, and all mysordered persons suffered to go vnpunysshed. Certain of the seditious persons he therevppon comyted to warde; notwithstanding which, there is still such great discorde and contencon stirred and moued amongst the Inhabytants, that the said Bayliffs dare not at this tyme ponysshe any offenders, or doo anythynge concernynge the good orderyng of the towne.

Defendant John Barker, in his Answer, says the complaint is made only of malyce and envy. He himself is none of the inhabytants of the towne, but is taxed with them of the owt-warde, that is, as he alleges, according to his goods and not according vnto the rents of theyre howses. Further, his howse, as a spirituall howse, ought not to be taxed. For the rest, he declares that whereas the tax was sessed at the rate of one penny in the shilling, the Bailiffs have levied it at the rate of twopence. Moreover, he denies that he hath at any tyme vsid himself in the sayd towne in any soche vnlawfull maner or

fasshion as by the sayd bill is supposed. On the other hand, whereas there was a boke made and streted vnto the constables of the towne for the spedy collecon on the tax, when defendants desired to see this boke the bayliffs vtterly denied theyre request, saying how that they, nother none suche as they, shuld be made privie to know what the boke wold or dyd com vnto. Wherefore diuers of the inhabytants were privately and vnlawfully (as already alleged) chargyd vnto a further some then the some which they were [taxed] att.

[A commission was appointed by the King to inquire into the alleged disturbances and abuses, and witnesses examined.]

Who depose that the deposition of William Hodges is in everything true; that the wief of Edmond Sylvester payed her husbonds porcyn to the constable, prayenge hym that he would speake nomore to her husbond for itt; that there was nomore money gethered by the sessment than was truly accompted, but only the some of ij *s.* x *d.*, which was gyven agayne to xij poor men; that a true and perfect boke was made of the same, which boke was openly brought before Sir John Bridges and Thomas Bridges, Stewards of the towne; that certain of the defendants, asserting the contrary, and resolved to have the matter newly examined and redressed, went with pen and inke and paper from howse to howse, to the number of twentie houses, requiryng eu[e]ry man to take their parties, saying they wold make them as free as Bayliffs of the towne by Cristmasse Day, and that they should by and sell as freely as any Burgesse; that after that the towne grewe into suche murmor and controuersye that there was like to ensue greate inconvenyence, insomuche that William Hiatt said vnto John Jones in the strete: Come forthe, and all thy men with thee, if they be fortie, for now wee are prouided for thee; and the said Hiatt sayed vnto his owne wief, in the hyringe of one John Hannys of Burford, then constable: I trust ones to be Bayliff of the towne, and see some of the Burgesses hangyd, and to sitt vppon them my silf; that Sir John Bridges and Thomas Bridges came to the towne and tooke vppon them the exaumynacon of the matter openly and thoroughly, and could fynde no falte in the officers nor Burgesses, on which occasion the said Sylvester, being askyd

what was the cause of the grudge, aunsweryd that they could shewe none, forasmuche as the matter was before the Lord Chauncellor and the King's Counsaill, but said that that they did was for a comon wealthe; and the forsaide Hiatt, then stondyng by, said Yea, and for the King's advauntage; wher-vppon the said Sir John Bridges and Thomas Bridges wyllyd them to fynde suretie, which to doo they vtterly refusyd, and therevppon they were comyttyd to warde and letten owte agaynst the daye that they should appeare before the King's Counsaill.

5. PROPOSAL TO ABOLISH THE ROYAL RIGHT OF PURVEYANCE, 1548.

[S.P.D. Edward VI., Vol. V., No. 20, printed in A Discourse of the Common Weal of this Realm of England, ed. E. Lamond (1893), pp. xlii-xlv. This memorandum is in Hales' hand and is probably by him.]

Ther be thre thynges that be the cause of the Vnyuersall dearthe of vytelles in the Realme. The first is Lack of breadyng and rearyng of catell and pultrie ware. For it is not possible to haue that goode cheape that is not. The seconde is Regratyng, when the most parte of vyteyls be gathered into a fewe mens hands who maye differ to sell, but when they see ther most profet. And the thyrd is the kynges prouysions, when vyteyle is taken from the poore people that be the breaders, agenst ther willes, and haue neither redy moneye for ther wares nor yet so moche as it is worthe, which discourageth the people to breade and causeth the prices of all thynges (because there is not plentye of them) to be encreased.

Lack of good Lawes and Statutes is not the cause of this hurte that cometh by prouysions, for ther be lawes sufficient for that purpose, but because they cannot be put in execution, the let wherof is Lacke of moneye.

So that if we mynde to haue nomore prouysions made as they haue ben, that is without moneye and for lesse price then other men paie, we must of necessite prouyde that the kyng maye haue moneye and his Reuenuez encreased.

The prouysion of moneye must nedes be had, albeit the prouysions cease not, for we see the kynges charges daylye encrease more and more and his Reuenuez dailie to decrease more and more, for that he selleth thesame, so that the more he selleth, the greater at lenght shalbe the burden of the Comens, for whose defense it is solde, and who must be compelled to satisfie that lacketh. So that our pollicie ought to be first to consider how moche the kynges charges surmount his Reuenuez, and to deuyse and ymagyn howe his graces reuenuez maye be encreased, with the least burdon of his subiectes.

We must also consider that as the kynges reuenuez be greater then any of his predecessours, so be his charges farr greater bothe in his householde and also in his warres, then euer any kynges of Englande wer before.

If somme of his predecessours haue had more in respecte then the kyng hathe, albeit they had neither monasterie, College or Chauntrie Landes, Then must it be considered howe thesame was greater and where that reuenue is become, and whether the thyng wherof it grewe as yet remayneth or is vtterly decaied.

It appereth by the Recordes of thexchequer that Edward the third had more reuenue yerely by the custome of the staple, then the kyng that dead is had by all customes of the staple and clothes by lv^{m} ccij *li.* viij *s.* iiij *d.* at the least.

To shewe what hurte cometh by prouysions to the poore men it shall not neade, Experience doth mak it to playne. But for example, the purueyour alloweth for a lambe worthe two shylynges, but xij *d.*; for a capon worthe xij *d.*, six pens and so after that rate, so that after that rate ther is not the poorest man that hath any thyng to sell but he loseth half in the price, besides tariyng for his moneye which somtyme he hathe after long suyte to the officers, and great costes suyng for it, and many tymes he neuer hathe it, so that he is dryuen to recouer his losses by sellyng deerer to the kynges subjectes.

And therfore farr better it wer for men to geue somme certeyntie yerely not to be combred with this yoke of prouysions, then dailye thus to be tormented and neuer to be in certeyntie of ther owne.

This certeyntie myght be thus gathered that the kyng myght

haue of euery sheepe kept in the comen feldes one peny, of euery Ewe and Lambe kept in seuerall pasture two pens, and of euery other sheere sheepe kept in pasture, thre halfpens.

Suppose ther be in the Realme at this present the nomber of thirty hundred thousand sheepe, wherof xv hundred thousand to be kept on the comens, and rated at one peny the pece, it will amounte to vi^{m} ccl *li.*, and vij hundred and fyftie thousand Ewes with lambes rated at ij *d.* the Ewe and Lambe it cometh to vj^{m} ccl *li.*, and vij hundred and fyftie thousand other pasture sheepe rated at i *d. ob.* the pece it cometh to iiij^{m}vj[c]lxxxvij *li.* x *s.*, summa totalis xvii^{m}clxxxvij *li.* x *s.*, which is thought will do somwhat, albeit not sufficient, toward the prouysions of the kynges householde.

Nowe sithe the woolles grow dailye, and be conuerted into Clothe made within the Realme, that wer wonte to be caried vnwrought ouer the sees, wherby kynges of Englande in tyme past haue had so great reuenuez, and the comynaltie haue ben the lesse charged with subsidies, The kynges charges dailye encreasyng more and more, to thentent the kynges highnes shuld haue the lesse cause to trouble his subiects with requyryng any subsidies, and that noble men and gentlemen which be otherwise charged to serue his highnes be not double charged, and the poore men that be not able to paie therwith charged, reason it wer that an imposition wer put on Clothes, to be paied yerely by the makers therof and by the Marchauntes that carrie it ouer the see, after this rate, that is of the Clothier for a brode clothe v *s.*, and a carseye xx *d.*, and of the marchaunt double custome.

He that holdeth of the kyng in Capite can be no loser for payment for his sheepe that he spendeth in his house, for that he shall be allowed as moche as for the respite of homage. As for example if he paie yerely xx *s.* for the respite of his homage after the rate of a peny the sheepe, he maye kill ccxl sheep and shall paie nomore than he did before.

The clothier can haue no losse therby, For he will recouer it in his sale, which is after the rate of two pens in the yarde of Clothe. And so sellyng it either to the kynges subjects, or to

straungers, they must beare the burdon, which beyng so light they shall easilye do.

The marchaunts if they maye haue the clothe iustly and truly made, shalbe great gaigners. And so shall all other that weare clothe, when one garnement beyng made of good and true clothe shall least twise as long as garnements do at this tyme.

These thynges graunted that it will pleace the kynges Maiestie, that his officers after Christmas next comyng shall take nothyng ayenst the owners will but paie redy moneye, and asmoche as the commen price is in the market. And that almaner of cariages, aswell by see as by Lande, shalbe rated at such prices as other his graces subiects paie. And that shalbe rated by two justices of peace and by the verdite of xij men of the hundred, such as haue cariages of ther owne.

Also that it maye please his Maiestie that the Sherifes for the tyme beyng maye be discharged uppon ther accomptes of such farmess and rentes as be not leuyable.

Also that all Cities, boroughs and Townes maye be discharged of ther fee farmes, and rentes for ther liberties paied to the kynges Maiestie. And that the profittes that growe of such fee farmes and rentes, which maye be iustly and truly gathered, shalbe emploied yerely toward a stocke to be occupied by the Inhabitaunts of the same cities, boroughs and Townes in settyng the poore people of the same on worke and in noon other places, accordyng to such ordenaunces and deuyses as shalbe set forth by the kynges Maiestie Commyssioners.

Also that it will please the kynges Maiestie, that no sommes of moneye shalbe paied in thexchequer or elsewhere for respite of homage. Nor that any processe herafter shalbe sent out of thexchequer ayenst any persone to do his homage.

This graunt and articles to be of force to the ende of the next parliament that shalbe holden after the kynges Maiestie shall come to his full age.

6. JOHN HALES ON THE UNWISDOM OF A NEW IMPOSITION ON CLOTH, 20 MARCH, 1559.

[S.P.D. Eliz., Vol. III., No. 40.]

Men that be extremely sicke commonly, when they cannot get the best phisicians, they be contented with euery one that seameth to haue any skyle in phisik, and if no such can be founde, yet do they thynk themselfes moche eased, when they may haue to whom they maye vtter ther griefs, albeit he can do them no good. Euenso it fareth nowe with me; the merchauntes of London, who, as it seameth, be at thextremytie of makyng or marryng, repaire to me and vtter ther griefs for this newe imposicion on clothes, which shulde be laied on them, as though I myght do them good, which I knowe I cannot. And yet, as one that wissheth all shulde be well, I trust I maye be so bolde to write two or thre wordes to you, what I thynk therin, and doubt not but ye will accept it in goode parte; ye maye after do that your wisedom shall thynk good. Ye knowe who teache that in makyng of Lawes and gouernement men ought to haue respecte to the hole, more than to any one parte: for the hole comprehendeth the partes, and it is impossible that the hole prosperyng but euery parte shalbe partaker therof; but contrarie one parte may prosper and all the rest maye be in euill case. This I write to put you in remembraunce, as I doubt not but ye haue, howe that sekyng the Queenes profet, if ye hurte not the rest of the bodie, ye do but your duetie and well. For I do ymagyn, and also partely I knowe, howe the reuenuez of the Crowne be moche abated. And yet if they wer not, if they be not such as be able to maynteyne the state and to defende it from foreyn power, of necessitie they must be encreased. And I believe ther is no Englisshmann that knoweth the gouernement of other contreyes and the great imposicions wherwith the people be yoked, but perceaueth and confesseth that this Realme in respecte of others is onely free, and will not onelye desire that it maye so contynue, but also will be glad to helpe, that it maye so contynue. Neuertheles in myn opynnyon, this is not the best waie to augment it so moche in one thyng, no nor any waie to

endure, but rather a meane to make no Englisshe merchauntes, whom I cannot see howe ye can lack, considerynge the hoole ritches and welthe of the Realme consisteth at this present in makyng and vtteryng of the Clothe. For merchauntes trauaile for gayne and when gayne ceaseth they trauaile nomore. But in this ther gayne shall not onely cease, but also they shalbe vndon yf they contynue the trafique. For by that I can learne and partlie I have experience, they get not presently in one clothe with another aboue vj *s.* viij *d.*, which shalbe clene by this imposicion taken awaie. And if the moneye shuld be brought to his auncient value, as herin men ought to trauell, for it is a meane to mak the queenes and the Noble mens reuenuez half asmoche more worthe as it is presently, by reason that of necessitie the price of all thynges must therwith fall, and so this noble shuld be ten shylynges flemysshe after which rate the merchauntes vse to make ther accompt, it wer not possible that they shulde paie it. For they cannot get somoche in the price of the commen sortyng clothes. Besides if they be thus dryven to paie, they will labour to recover it in the wares that they bryng from beyonde the sea, and so when the queene shalhave perchaunce twenty thousand poundes more in nombre at the recept, it is lik that in her paymentes it shalbe twise as moche encreased. Moreouer if ye make not the like proportion and rate for the merchaunt straunger, as I believe it wilbe harde to do, then loke how moche your owne merchauntes paie more then they wer wont, and the straunger not after that soort rated, somoche ye geue vnto the straunger merchaunt, whom in myn opynyon ye ought rather labour to expell the Realme, then maynteyn as he is. For if they wer knowen as they be, ye shulde see they wer no other but spies for foreyn prynces. For how cometh that in Rome, in Fraunce and all other places, they haue intelligence of the most secret councels of this Realme, yea when ennemytie is, but onely by straungers. In no place where the commen welthe is tendred straungers haue so great libertie as they haue in this Realme. If our merchauntes wer vsed to the most commoditie of the queene and of the Realme, ther myght be a great deale more commoditie of them taken then this great subsidie, and yet no hurt shuld come vnto them,

and this ought to be diuysed and laboured. And if we consider all thyngs, it is not the marchaunt onely that is enritched by the commoditie of the Realme, but the Clothier and the sheepemaster have also asmoche and greater and without controversie more certeyn. And therefore if ye wolde aduaunce the profet of the Crowne, by this commoditie of the Realme, they shulde all paie, and two shulde not laugh and the third weape. If the merchaunt myght paie double custome, as I thynke, declaryng the queenes necessitie and ther owne sauegarde, ye myght easilie bryng them to it; it wolde, I gesse, amounte to a good rounde somme, but where it was promysed that the seas for the subsidie shulde be defended, it wer to be wisshed that promyse wer truly observed. If the Clothier did paie xij *d.* for euery course clothe in steade of the iiij *d.* for the Aulnage, it wolde be more then ten thousand poundes yerelye. For ther is no doubt but ther be 200,000 clothes yerely made. And if this wer not sufficient, the fyner clothes myght paie a greater somme for the Aulnage. But ye remember howe ones it was attempted, and had no such success as was hooped. And to attempt this or that nowe, my thynketh the tyme present dothe not serue. For the queenes maiestie is not yet so well setled as I wisshe she wer. Ye se howe stoute the papistes be and what will folowe through preposterous pitie god knoweth, but the merchauntes, of whom by outward showe, and I thynk it verily true, she is assured of bodie and goodes more then euer any of her predecessours wer, wolde not be aliened from her grace at this present. For if neade (as god forbid) shulde happon, they shulde do her good seruyce. But whensoeuer it shulde seame tyme to burdon them or any others, it wolde be don by such order as euery man myght allowe it, and not by an indirect meanes and fyne tryck of the lawe. For so heraftere by that president more myght folowe which nowe is not forseen, and euery man perchaunce shulde be sorie for it. Ye knowe how litle will serue a prynce for a great title. I am persuaded that ye do not somoche staie the merchauntes for this moneye, as vppon good pollicie, that ther clothes and goodes in Flaunders shuld not be staied, which I believe will folowe if ye do not in tyme forsee it, and the rather the Kyng will do it, that he knoweth the papistes

be so lustie here and boren with. If ye do so I thynk no man can improue the doyng; for it is no pollicie to geue a suspected ennemye aduauntage. God sende vs grace to seake his honour and the welthe of our contreye.

Yours
John Hales.

[*Endorsed*] 20 Marcii 1558 [*i.e.* 1559]. Mr. John Hales to Mr. Secretarie.

[*Addressed*] To the right honourable Sir William Cecyll knyght the queenes maiesties secretarie.

7. RICHARD CLOUGH TO GRESHAM ON THE FRAUDS OF THE CUSTOMS OFFICIALS, 31 DEC., 1561.

[Lansdowne MS., No. 5, Art. 27. Printed in J. W. Burgon, Life and Times of Sir Thomas Gresham, Vol. I. (1839), pp. 405-11.]

Ryght worshepful Sir, . . . First, whereas your plesure is that I shall make inquiry amongst your frynds here, for the order, and howe they do youse the matter in hyryng outt of their tolle or Coustom here, with the wholle system thereof, I have (through the frendeship of your gossepp, Crystofer Prowne, now beyng Treasorer of the towne of Andwarpe) gotten outt in Doche the pryncypall partyculars thereof; the menyng whereof is in Enggleshe, as here after foloweth. . . .

Sir, I am glad to heare that thys thyng is callyd for; hoping that soche order shalle be takyn therein, that it shalle be for the Quenes Majesties profett, and the honor of the realme. For as the matter is now youséd, it is agaynst conscyence to hear the tallke that goeth, howe the Quene is disseved; which must needs be trewe, consyderyng the order that they do youse, (which is to no resone); [namely], that the Quenes coustomes must stande uppon the reportt of v or vi serchers, (more or lesse), whiche serchers are men knowne to be men that wyll be coropptyd for moneye. For, in the openyng of a fatt full of syllks, some tymes I doubt it is broughtt over to the coustom house for fustyans, or suche other ware. Butt and if the Quenes Majestie will thus lett out her coustome, I do not doubt butt she shalle feele shortely howe the matter hathe passed: or

otherwise, and if hyr Majestie be not dysposed so to do, and if I myghtt be credytyd therein, and if the Queens Majestie wollde bestow butt ij or thre thowsannde pownds once, I wollde nott doubt butt to save her fyve thowsaunnde pownds every yere att the least. For, where[as] the matter is youssed att London by so many Quays crowne-serchers, wayters, and other powlyng offycers, in suche order that all the worlde dothe crye outt upon us, (as you do ryghtt well knowe), here is in Andwerpe but i or ii serchers. Yett I dare saye there is more coustome stollen in London in i Month, than is here in Andwerpe in one wholle yere; whiche comyth because they here do the thynges in order, and wee outt of order.

I doubt wether Mr Secretary, or other my lords of the counsill, do knowe of some of these orders, whiche I have hearde bothe Englishe men and straungers moche complayne uppon: whiche is, when men have their goods att home in their howsys, they muste runne sometymes x days to gett a sercher to come [and] see the openyng of the goods. And unlesse he wyll geve iiii or v groats to the sercher, possybly he wyll not come in xiiij days, which is no reasone; for a stranger or Englisheman oughtt to paye butt one coustome, and nott to the quene and to the sercher bothe. Thys is a thyng dayly yousyd; and when the questyun is axyd unto the sercher, or waiter, wherefor he dothe so youse the matter, they say that they have butt xx nobles wages, which they cannott live uppon. In myne opynyon, better it were that the matter were so youssed that men myghtt be servyd as they oughtt to be. For I dare saye that nott only Engglishemen, butt strangers also, are more agrevyd with thys trouble, than they are in paying of the coustome. And one thing, it must needs be muche agaynst the Quenes profett. A Marchante, whattsoever he be, having a fatt or packe of sylks in hys housse the space of vi or viij days (and consyderyng the great coustome that they do paye for it), it ys not to be thoughtt the contrary, butt that he wyll seke all the menes he can to take out those syllks, and putt in other goods in the place. Some men will saye, no, because the sercher hathe putt hys seale upon it. He that made the serchers seale can make the lyke; and it is to be thinkt that marchants are not the

sympelyst kynd of pepell that be; for I do knowe that bothe here (aye truly [and in] Spayne [and] Docheland), men do seke out the best heddyd men that they can, to do their besynes, specyally abroade in forren countrese. In Engglande, many wyll saye that [these] are coustomes that hathe of long bene yoused; yett, in mine oppynyon, and yf they be never so olde, and nott for the honor or profett of the realme, they maye well be broken.

I wryte this muche unto your mastersheppe to putt you in rememberanse that when tyme shall serve, you maye breake some of these matters to Mr Secretary; for in dede it is marvell that we have so gude orders as wee have, consyderyng what rulers wee have in the sittey of London; suche a companny that do study for nothyng else butt for their own profett. As for insampell: consyderyng whatt a sittey London ys, and that in so many yeres they have nott founde the menes to make a Bourse! but must wallke in the raine, when ytt raineth, more lyker pedlers then marchants; and in thys countrie, and all other, there is no kynde of pepell that have occasyon to meete, butt they have a plase meete for that pourpose. In dede, and yf your besynes were done, and that I myghtt have the lesure to go about hytt, and that you wyll be a menes to Mr Secretary to have hys favore therein, I wyll nott doutt butt to make so fere a bourse in London as the grett bourse is in Andwarpe, withhoutt molestyng of any man more then he shulld be well dysposyd to geve. Herein I am somwatt tedyus: desyryng you to pardone me, for beyng ownse enteryd into the matter, I collde nott stee myselfe. . . .

As touchyng all other your affaires, I wrote you att large yesterdaye by the Enggleshe post; havyng not ells to wrytt you att thys presentt, butt preying God to sende your worsheppe, with my Lady, grace, helthe and long lyfe, to the honor of God, and to your harts desyre.

Your mastershepps Servantt
Ryc. Cloughe.

As towchyng the matter for the toll, and if it were wryttyn agayne, it shullde nott be amisse; for that I am in doutt weder Mr. Secretary can well rede my hande.

8. BENEDICK SPINOLA CONVICTED OF DEFRAUDING THE CUSTOMS, 27 DEC., 1561.

[Lansdowne MS., No. 5, Art. 48, drafted in Cecil's hand. Printed in J. W. Burgon, Life and Times of Sir Thomas Gresham, Vol. I., p. 412.]

I doo confess that I have entred in the customs book at London, and shipped out of this realme in my owne name, and uppon my licence,[1] the nomber of foore hundred [and] forty-foore karseys, which wer the proper goodes of Jhon Justiniano of Cio, straunger, for the which I have payd to the Queenes Majestes use but Englishmens Customs, according to my licence: and have receaved of the sayd Justinian such custom as strangers doo paye to hir highness for karseys; abatyng to hym by agreement betwixt us viij^{c} [*sic*, ? viij *d.*] vppon every Carsey. *Per me* Benedetto Spinola.

9. REPORT TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL BY JAMES PAGET, COLLECTOR OF THE LOAN IN HAMPSHIRE, APRIL, 1570.

[S.P.D. Eliz., Vol. LXVII., No. 72.]

Right Honorable. For certificat of my doinges by virtue of her highnes bill signed for the collection of the mony growing on the pryvy seales dyrectyd into this countye of southampton. It may please your honours to be aduertisyd that I haue, according to the contents of the same, sent the said pryvy seales to the partyes, so many as was possible for me to cumm vnto ether within this shire or not very ffarr of distant in so shorte space, to whom I appoyntyd dayes of meting for the more ease, and suche places as were apte and convenyent for them, whether they haue resortyd and whom I haue found, lyke loving and obedyent subiectes, conformable to that her majestie requyrithe by thys Lone. So as to that ende I haue appoyntyd them a tyme and place agen, whichas the whole

[1] He had obtained a licence on April 21st, 1558, "for the passinge of two thowsande pounde in Custome as an Englisheman, viz. xvj^{c} pounde in clothe, and iiij^{c} in swette wynnes." (Lansdowne MS., No. 13., Art. 10.)

weke befor the feaste of pentycost next to repayre vnto me with ther sayd mony, for which I will attend them to subscribe to suche receiptes as they shall make me, as in this behaulf I am commaundyd to do.

And here, not without gret cause and consyderacion (for so miche as the wyllingnes of the greteste number farr excidythe ther abylytees to make so spedye paymentes as I requier of them, namely ther wull on ther shepes backe, ther corne all redy vtteryd and cattayle very bare and not mete to be sold this tyme of the yere, which ar the thinges shuld supplye that mony they want), I am bolde (if so by your favorable permissyons I may be and that it be no detryment to her maiestees weightyer affayres) to crave respytte of ther payment (which they most ernistly haue requestyd me to do) vntill yt be mydsomer next. Your honorable directyons herin what leasure may be grauntyd them (thoughe it were to sum fewe, suche as wold aboue others be consyderyd) I am for my satisfying desyrous to be certyfyed.

Even so to avoyd tedyousnes in wryting to your honours I haue thought it suffycyent to send you her in closyd the names of every such as lendith mony vpponn ther pryvy seales, and for them that do not lend I haue contyd over ayenst ther names the cause and reson why, not mystrusting but your honours will so well accept of them as if they had advauncyd to her highnes with the other summe, being suche persons as (albeit now vnprovidid of mony) her Majestie cann not yet only demaund this Lone and haue yt of them (for so gladlye they assent therto), but all they haue els without replye is vndelayedlye at her highnes commaundement to trust vponn, wher nevertheles ther charges in her servyce arn [*sic*] contynewall and with gret cost haue they furnisshed them selves to the execucion of that fydelytye which is to be borne vnto the state, wherof they be most dewtifully zelous. Others are dead and their goodes disspersed in the occupacions of divers, as your honours shall perceyve. Summe (though not many) yet decayed and not aforhand according to outward aparaunce and therfor very requysite to be consyderyd of. And ther be that dwellyth not in the shire nor can be spoken withall, as the Lady Agnes White, Wyddowe, and Mr. Richard White her

son, whos privy seales I do presently returne bycause they may be delyveryd them in London, wher I vnderstand ther abode nowe is.

Lastly, to thend I may not be founde overbolde vpon your clemencyes (well known in dewe causes to be redy to releve ever), I haue collectyd the names of certain others for whom I requyer to haue pryvy seales lykewise addressed as I had at the Fyrst, which shall countervayle so many as I haue shortenyd of your soomm with an overplus I hope to condigne acceptacion, and thus I betake your honours to allmighty god. Writen the [*blank*] day of aprell, Anno 1570.

Your honors humble
Jamys Paget.

[*Endorsed*] Aprill 1570. Mr Paget collectour of the loane in Hampsher to the counsell.

[*Addressed*] To the right honorable the Lordes of the quenes highnes most honorable pryvy councell.

10. LETTER OF PRIVY SEAL TO ROGER COLUMBELL, REQUESTING A LOAN, JAN., 1588; WITH RECEIPT, APRIL, 1588.

[Thomas Wright, Queen Elizabeth and her Times (1838), Vol. II., p. 361.]

Trustie and well-beloved, we greet you well. Whereas for the better withstanding of the intended invasion of this realme, upon the great preparation made by the Kinge of Spaine, both by sea and land the last yeere, the same having been such as the lyke was never prepared at any time agaynst this realme, we are now forced for the defence of the same, and of our good loving subjects, to be at infinite charges both by sea and land, especially for that the same intended invasion tendeth directly to the conquest of this realme, and fynding also by such intelligences as we dayly receive that the lyke preparations are nowe making for the lyke intent the next yere, by the said Kynge, for the withstanding whereof it shall be necessarie for us to prepare bothe by sea and land, which cannot be performed without great charges: we have therefore thought it expedient, having alwaies our good and loving subjects most ready upon

such lyke occasion to furnish us by way of loane of some convenient portions of money, agreable with their estate, (which we have and mynde alwayes to repaye), to have recourse unto them in lyke manner at this present.

And therefore, having made choyce in the several parts of our realme of a number able to do us this kynd of service, which is not refused between neighbour and neighbour, amongst the number we have also particularly named you, Roger Columbell, for your ability and good-will you beare to us and our realme, to be one; wherefore we require you to paye to our use the sum of fyve-and-twentie pounds to such person as by our lieutenant of that countie shall be named to you by his hand wryting. And these our letters of privy seale, subscribed by the partie so named, by our lieutenant that shall receive the same, confessing the time of the receipt thereof, shal be sufficient to bynd us, our heires, and successors, duly to repaye the said summe to you or your assignes, at the end of one yere, from the 26th day of January, in the thirty first yere of our raigne.

Thos. Kery.

Received of Mr. Roger Columbell, the 12th daye of Aprill, for her Majestie's use, the above said sum, twenty and five poundes, at Haddon, by me.

John Maners,
Clerk in Engham.

11. UNEQUAL ASSESSMENTS FOR A SUBSIDY, 1589.

[Acts of the Privy Council, Vol. XVII., pp. 413-15.]

xxj July, 1589. . . . Letters sent unto the Comissioners appointed for the assessement of the Subsedies within the severall counties of Somersett [and 32 others], which were delivered to be dispersed accordingly by John Unett, one of the Messingers of her Majestie's Chamber, as followeth:—

Althoughe by her Majestie's Commission you are largely authorised and charged alsoe to use all good meanes to assesse her Majestie's subjectes within the jurisdiccion of your Commission towardes the payment of suche sommes of money as

in nature of a Subsedy is granted to her Majestie towardes her great and inestimable charges for defence of her whole Realme, as by the Act of Parliament doth manifestlie appeare, yet considering the notable and evident abusing and diminucion of manie men's values heretofore in their assessementes under all reasonable proporcions, specially of men of the better state of livelehood and countenaunce, and therwith alsoe in manie shires and devisions suche negligence, or in some partes apparance of corrupcion for privat gaine, that was used in choyce of the head Collectours, as in many places of the Realme the Collectors dyd not aunswer their collections at the tymes appointed by the space of many yeares, untill they were therto forced by sondry processes, and some have not as yett aunswered anie parte thereof, and some others have in their excuse, being committed to prison, alledged that their masters by whome they were named had parte of their colleccion in their owne hands, and some others have ben named of soe meane livinges, contrary to the Statutes, as their hath bene noe meanes to recover of them their debtes or anie money forfeyted upon their bondes, besydes manie other suche grosse faultes committed in their choyce. For which purpose and on her Majestie's behalf to avoyd these and such like disorders nowe at this assessement tending to the defrauding of her Majestie from the ayde that hath ben ment by the Assembly in her Parliament to yeeld to her Majestie for unburdening of her great charges already growen, and for maintenance of her charges inevitablie to follow onely for defence of her Realme and subjectes against mightie invasions purposed by the enemies of God and his Church, we doe most earnestlie require you even for the honnour of God, the preservacion of His Church and for the weale of your countrey and in regard of your owne creditts, that at this tyme you to whome her Majestie hath committed this charge will in some better sort and with more earnestnes regard the assessementes of men that are knowen to be good possessioners of landes and men of great vallues in leases, stockes of cattall and money then heretofore hath been used, as we dare comitt yt to your consciences to be judges thereof, yf you compare the persons of knowen wealth and great counten-

ance with their base assessementes, althoughe we meane not herby to have anie men of wealth assessed comparablie to their livinges, but with some mediocrity according to their callinges. And forasmuch as yt hath appeared to her Majestie herself by perusall of some of the bookes of Subsedies in marking speciallie the principall knightes and esquires at what vallues they are assessed, that there are none soe basely assessed as they which have bene the Commissioners, which have bene taxed by themselves, her Majestie in a sort hath seemed to disdaine the receipt of the sommes of money of them, being soe base, in respect of her owne knowledg of their wealthes, and therefore her Majestie hath commaunded that after your owne assessementes be amongest your selves made, which is to be thought you will amend, the certificates thereof shall not be receaved to be of record in her Exchecquer, but shalbe imediately sent to us of her Privy Councell to be imparted to her Majestie as we shall see cause. And in case of apparant disorders in the basnes of those assessementes, contrary to this her admonicion, her Majestie will provyde redresse thereof, either by new assessementes or otherwyse, as to the importaunce of the cause by vertue of her Royall prerogative shall seeme meete. And as to the redresse committed of the great defaultes by the choyce of leude Collectours, we require you to forbeare the nominacion of anie suche as have ben heretofore Collectours, except they can shewe you their discharg by *quietus est* out of the Exchecquer, and likewyse that you name none but suche as are of sufficiency of freehold able to aunswer their charges.

And because you maie see evill demeanour of some of the Collectours, you shall understaund by a note hereunder written whoe have paid nothing and whoe but somewhat and whoe were behynde a long tyme.

12. A SIDELIGHT ON THE FOREGOING, 1601.

[H. Townshend, Historical Collections, (1680), pp. 267-68.]

Mr. Glascock spake and said: . . . 'We use so much Lenity in our Law, as we had as good make no Law. For we give a

Penalty, and to be taken upon Conviction before a Justice of Peace: Here's wise stuff! First, Mark what a Justice of Peace is, and we shall easily find a Gap in our Law. A Justice of Peace is a Living Creature, that for half a Dozen of Chickens will Dispence with a whole Dozen of Penal Statutes: We Search and Ingross; they retail. These be the Basket-Justices, of whom the tale may be Justified, of a Justice whom I know, to whom one of his Poor Neighbours coming, said: *Sir, I am very highly Rated in the Subsidy-Book; I do beseech you to help me.* To whom he answer'd, *I know thee not. Not me?* (quoth the Countryman) *why, your Worship had my Team, and mine Oxen such a day; and I have been ever at your worship's Service. Have you so?* (quoth the Justice) *I never remember I had any such Matter; not so much as a Sheeps Tail.* So unless you offer sacrifice unto these Idol-Justices, of Sheep and Oxen, they know you not. If a Warrant come from the Lords of the Council to Levy a Hundred Men, he will Levy Two Hundred: And, what with Chopping in and Crossing out, he will gain a Hundred Pounds by the Bargain. Nay, if he be to send forth a Warrant upon a Mans Request, to have any fetch't in upon Suspicion of Felony, or the like, he will write you the Warrant himself; and you must put Two Shillings in his Pocket, as his Clerk's Fee (when, God knows, he keeps but two or three Hindes), for his better Maintenance.

Why, we have had here Five Bills: One against Swearing, another for Going to Church, Good Ale, Drunkenness, and—This is as good to them as a Subsidy and Two Fifteens'.

13. DEBATE IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS ON THE SUBSIDIES, MARCH, 1593.

[D'Ewes, Journal (1693), pp. 483-84, 491-94, 496.]

[Friday, 2 March.] Sir Robert Cecill one of the Committees appointed by this House for Conference with the Committees of the Lords shewed that . . . the Lord Treasurer of England . . . shewed unto the Committees of this House the great and present need of provision of Treasure to be imployed for the

defence of the Realm against the Invasion of the great and mighty Enemies unto this Realm and State; and shewing further, that the double Subsidy and Fifteenths and Tenths lastly granted unto her Majesty, amounting but unto two hundred and four score thousand pounds, her Majesty hath nevertheless in these defensive Wars expended of her own Treasure alone ten hundred and thirty thousand pounds since the time of the granting of the said double Subsidy and of the said Fifteenths and Tenths. And that therefore their Lordships weighing the great present necessity of greater and more speedy supply of Treasure to be had than two intire Subsidies and four Fifteenths, do negatively affirm, that their Lordships will not give in any wise their assents to pass any Act in their House of less than three intire Subsidies to be paid in the next three years at two payments in every of the same years, the first to begin soon after the next Easter, and the second soon after the next Michaelmas, and so yearly after Easter and Michaelmas during the said three years. And that to what proportion of benevolence or unto how much their Lordships would give their assents in that behalf, they would not as then shew unto the said Committees of this House. But insisting for Conference again to be had he further urged that this House might be moved to yield a greater supply. To which end he alledged, that the usual late Subsidies were very small, and were also imposed for the most part upon the meaner sort of her Majesties Subjects: declaring, that he knew one Shire of this Realme wherein there were many men of good living and countenance, but none of them in the said last Subsidies assessed at above four score pound Lands per Annum. And that in the City of London also, where the greatest part of the riches of the Realm are, there was no one assessed at above two hundred pound goods a man, and that not yet past above four or five such. . . .

Mr. Francis Bacon . . . spake next, and yielded to the Subsidy, but misliked that this House should join with the Upper House in the granting of it. . . . And out of his Bosom he drew an Answer framed by himself to this effect: That they had considered of their Lordships Motion, and thought upon it as was fit, and in all willingness would address themselves to

do as so great a Cause deserved. To join with them he said he could not, but with prejudice to the priviledge of the said House. . . . Whereupon the House well approving the said Mr. Bacon's opinion, it was upon the Question ordered, That the former Committees of this House in the same Cause . . . should meet here in this House at two of the clock in the Afternoon of this present day.

[Wed. 7 March] Sir Thomas Cecill . . . said that three Subsidies might be set down to be paid in four years, and to be charged upon men of ten pound and upwards to spare them that were under.

Sir Henry Knivet affirmed the poverty of our Country against the reasons used. The principal reason of our poverty he said was because we brought in more Foreign Wares than we vented Commodities, and so by this means our money was carried out of our Country. Alledging it to be like a Pond fed with a Spring, but having a breach through which more passeth than cometh in. . . . He made these two Motions; First, that the Queen should be helped by a survey taken of all mens Lands and Goods in England, and so much to be yearly levyed as to serve the Queen to maintain Wars, the proportion being set a hundred thousand pound yearly: And secondly, if this were misliked, every man upon his word and power to deliver what were the profits of his Lands and worth of his goods, and so a proportion to be had accordingly.

Sir Francis Hastings said, The preparations of the Enemies Forces are both ready and great, and *intus* they conspire; therefore a great Aid must be yielded: And I could wish three subsidies to be levyed in this matter; in the first of them those to be charged of five pound Lands and five Marks Goods, in the second those of twelve pound Lands and eight pound Goods, and in the third all to be charged as these have been.

Sir Walter Raleigh answered them that spake of the Poverty of the Land, which they argued by the multitude of Beggars, he gave these reasons: That the broken Companies in Normandy and the Low Countries who returned maimed hither, never went back again to the Towns from whence they came. For a multitude of Clothiers take their Looms into their own hands,

spinning their Wooll themselves, and except we would work unto them better cheap than they can make themselves, they will set none on work. This grossing of so many Trades into their own hands beggareth so many as usually lived by the Trade. He thought it inconvenient to have so many mens livings surveyed: For many are now esteemed richer than they are, and if their Land and Wealth were surveyed, they would be found Beggars, and so their credit, which is now their Wealth, would be found nothing worth.

He reported of his own knowledge, that the West Country, since the Parliament begun, had taken from them the worth of four hundred and forty thousand pound. They of Newcastle lie still for fear, because Burdeaux Fleet was taken this year by the Enemy. For the Enemy approaching us, and being our Neighbour as he is gotten to be, our Trades will decay every day, and so our poverty increaseth every day more and more. And this is most certain, the longer we defer Aid, the less able shall we be to yield Aid; And in the end the greater Aid will be required of us. And so sparing them now we shall charge them when they shall be less able to bear it. . . . So in conclusion he agreed to three Subsidies; in them the three pound men to be spared, and the summ which came from them to be levied upon those of ten pound and upwards; and the payment to be speedy.

Sir Henry Umpton agreed that there should be three Subsidies granted, according to the old payment; only that a care should be had of assessing it on them that were best able. . . .

Sir Edward Stafford thought Subsidies were not so fit a remedy for the dangers we were in, but advised rather, there being ten thousand Parishes in England, that it should be imposed on every Parish to find so many men for the Wars; and the richer Parishes to help the poorer. And the allowance for every man yearly to be twelve pound.

Sir Francis Drake described the King of Spains strength and cruelty where he came, and wished a frank Aid to be yielded to withstand him; and he agreed to three Subsidies.

Sergeant Harris moved for three Subsidies, but the ancient custom of payment to be retained; besides, no three pound

men to be excused, for then every man will labour by his Friend to be set three pound. And that it was not needful to find men for the Field. For by the Tenures, of which there are three in England, this is provided for. The first Chivalry, that is to do service in the Field; the second Socage, that is to find us *victum et vestitum* by the Plough; the last Frankal moign, who are to pray for us to God. Now everyone by whom fealty is to be done by his Tenure, he is to be forty dayes in the Field with his Lord.

Sir Robert Cecill said I am glad to see the willingness of the House and readiness to yield Aid; and having a feeling of the necessity requiring it, my desire is, that the Sentence which had had so many Parentheses might now be brought to a Period, and the Bears Whelp that hath so many times been licked over might now be made somewhat. For that is always the most Honourable Conclusion, which having received many Contradictions is in the end concluded. So he desired this matter of Subsidying might be committed to some special Committees in the Afternoon.

Sir John Fortescue thought it liberal to grant three Subsidies, but did assure of his proper knowledge, that three Subsidies would not defray her Majesties Charges, though all other Customs and Revenues were added unto them. . . .

Sir Thomas Heneage her Majesties Vice-Chamberlain affirmed, he never saw the House so willing to yield to needful Aids. And that he was one who had now served her Majesty a long time, and knew something her disposition. Wherefore he advised that the wonted course should be followed. For he heard her Majesty speak of it, that she loved not such fineness of device and novel inventions, but liked rather to have the antient usages offered. It is best so to have it paid as it hath been heretofore. Only a greater discretion to be used in the charging of it. To charge the poor men more deeply he thought it not fit; yet they to be grateful to her Majesty he thought it would be accepted. And that the best able men should offer somewhat to her Majesty of their ability. . . .

. . . . . .

In the Afternoon at the General Committee the Committees

met, and it was debated how the Subsidy could be levied in shorter time than heretofore. The poverty of the people and hard Collections of other Subsidies, and the double charge which this would be unto them, with many other reasons were alledged against the Parliaments so speedy Collection. On the other side it was vehemently pressed, that the necessity of the time was such, as it could not carry the accustomed time for payment, her Majesties Purse and Coffers being empty; the danger would be over before the usual payment would come in. Wherefore if the help were not timely, it would be no service. There was much division about this. Some of the Committees would have this propounded, whether the three Subsidies should be paid in four years or three; others dissented from it.

Mr. Heale . . . argued the wealth of the Country to be greater than ever it was, affirming that of his own knowledge from the Mount to London the Country was richer many thousand pounds than heretofore. He also urged the necessity, which being so great, and her Majesty having expended as was said since Eighty eight above ten hundred and thirty four thousand pounds and that only in Normandy, Brittany and in the Low Countries, and upon her Navy and Artillery; besides all her Pensions to Foreign Princes, her Officers Fees, the charges of her Garrison of Barwick, standing her yearly in seventeen thousand pounds; and all this is besides the Expences in her House. These things being considered, he thought more than Subsidies would be yielded; and if Subsidies only, the richer Men must be the more deeply charged, and the Commission so penned, as the Commissioners may have Authority to force men.

Mr. Francis Bacon assented to three Subsidies, but not to the payments under six years. And to this propounded three questions, which he desired might be answered. The first, Impossibility or difficulty; the second Danger or discontentment; and thirdly, a better manner of supply than Subsidy.

For Impossibility: the poor mens Rent is such as they are not able to yield it, nor to pay so much for the present. The gentlemen must sell their Plate, and Farmers their Brass Pots, ere this will be paid. And for us we are here to search the

wounds of the Realm and not to skin them over: therefore not to perswade our selves of their wealth more than it is.

The dangers are these. We shall first breed discontentment in paying these Subsidies, and in the Cause endanger her Majesty's safety, which must consist more in the love of the people than in their wealth; and therefore not to give them discontentment in paying these Subsidies; thus we run into a double peril. In putting two payments into one, we make a double Subsidy. For it maketh four shillings in the pound a double payment. The second is this, that this being granted in this sort, other Princes hereafter will look for the like; So we shall put an evil precedent upon our selves, and our Posterity. And in Histories it is to be observed that of all Nations the English are not to be subject, base or Taxable.

The manner of supply may be by Levy or Imposition, when need shall most require: so when her Majesties Coffers are empty, they may be filled by this means.

Sir Thomas Heneage her Majesties Vice-Chamberlain said . . . a people sound in Religion and faithful to the Queen and State were never found to love their Prince so little as to be discontented, etc. The necessity of the time is to be considered, and shall be informed unto them, which is such as has not been at any time these sixty years, nor at any time the like was ever heard of; yea, such dangers, as are not to be read that ever the like was intended to any State. Therefore for this extraordinary time some accustomed help must be had; and from these Subsidies do but take away the benefit of time, and then the payments will yield no help to our necessity; for in two years the dangers will be over. So he desired that in this Case Examples might not lead us, but that the present dangers should move us.

Sir Thomas Cecill moved also, that the Cinque-Ports might be also brought into the Taxes of the Subsidies at this time; for that it hath been the use of men having any Lands in the Cinque-Ports to take sanctuary there before the Sessing of the Subsidy, by removing themselves, and keeping their Houses there.

Sir Walter Raleigh said, I can see no reason that the suspicion

of discontentment should cross the provision for the present danger. The time is now more dangerous than it was in Eighty eight; for then the Spaniard which came from Spain was to pass dangerous Seas, and had no place of retreat or relief if he failed: But now he hath in Brittany great store of Shipping, a Landing place in Scotland, and Men and Horses there as good as we have any. But for the difficulty in getting this Subsidy, I think it seems more difficult by speaking than it would be in gathering. . . .

Mr. Lewes agreed to the Subsidies, and desired that two things might be granted, whereby the Subject should be inriched and the better inabled to pay the Subsidy: That is, that one liberty may be granted, which is transporting of Corn: and the other is for somewhat to be restrained, viz. bringing in of Wines so abundantly; for the vent of our Cloth amounteth not to the sum of our Vintage, *et frugem patrem-familias vendacem non emacem est* [*sic*] *oportet.* And thinks it good that the Statutes made heretofore against excess in Apparel might be put in Execution. . . .

Sir Robert Cecill assented to those that had spoken for the Subsidies, but to them that had spoken to the contrary he said, they speak out of time; And to speak to the particular parts, as that our Poverty is not to be skinned over but thoroughly healed; that discontentment is to be feared; and lastly, that precedents for hereafter would be avoided. For the first, if we be poor, yet at this time it is to be considered we are in great danger, and of two mischiefs we must chuse the lesser. And therefore I would have this question after so much discussing banished the House.

For Precedents, they have never been perpetual, but begun and ended with the Causes; and as the Causes grew, so grew the Precedent. In her Majesties time it is not to be feared that this Precedent will ever do us harm, for her Majesty will never accept any thing that is given her unwillingly of her Subjects: Nay in the Parliament the twenty seventh of her Reign she refused a benevolence offered her, because she had no need of it, and would not charge her people. This being out of fear, we have no reason to give prejudice to the best Queen or King that

ever came, for fear of a worse King than ever was. After her Reign I never had so much as one Idea in my Head what would be our Estate then.

Now to end the matter long debated, my desire is, that the question might be made for three Subsidies payable in four years.

This question was made in the House, and at the first they gave an *I* [*i.e. aye*].

. . . . . .

[Friday, 9 March] Sir John Hart, one of the Knights returned for the City of London, putting the House in remembrance once of a Report lately made by some of the Committees of this House touching a Speech lately delivered by some of the Committees of the Lords touching the late Assessment of the late double Subsidy (amongst others) in the City of London, alledging that in London there was none Assessed at above two hundred pounds, and not past four such, nor yet past eight at one hundred pounds, shewed, that the Honorable person that delivered the said speech to the said Committees of this House had not been rightly informed in that matter. And shewed further, that in very deed at the last Assessment of the Subsidy within the said City of London there were two and thirty persons taxed at two hundred pounds and upwards, whereof some at two hundred and twenty, and some at two hundred and fifty pounds. And one hundred forty and eight persons at one hundred pounds and upward, whereof some at one hundred and ten, some at one hundred and twenty, some at one hundred and forty, some at one hundred and fifty, some at one hundred and sixty, and some at one hundred and eighty pounds. And eighty persons at three hundred pounds, and some at three hundred and fifty pounds, and four persons at four hundred pounds. Besides five hundred forty and four persons at fifty pounds and upwards, whereof some at sixty, some at seventy, some at eighty, and some at ninety pounds.

14. PART OF A LIST BY SIR NATHANIEL BACON, J.P., OF PERSONS IN NORFOLK CERTIFIED UNABLE TO CONTRIBUTE TO A LOAN, 1 MARCH, 1591.

[The Stiffkey Papers, ed. H. W. Saunders (Roy. Hist. Soc., Camden Third Series, Vol. XXVI., 1915), pp. 97-100, *passim.*]

A certificat touching divers persons who have had privie seales delivered unto them for the loane of money within the countye of Norffolk, set doune this first of March, 1591. . . .

Hugh Willkyn of Est Wretham paieth not, and bringeth a certificat from Bass. Gawdie and Edward Mondtford Esquiers, Justices of the lymitt, witnessing his disability.

Robert Appleton of Halvergate paieth not, and doth deliver a certificat from Henry Gawdie and William Blenerhaiset Esquiers, Justices of the lymitt, and from the Chief Constable of the same hundred with divers others, witnessing his insufficiency. . . .

William Smith of Runham is certefyed to be a verie poore man and unable to lende by Mr. Henry Gawdie and Mr. William Blenerhaiset, Justices of the lymitt. . . .

Thomas Clere Esquier is certefyed by Henry Gawdie and William Blenerhaiset, Esquier, to be much in debt by housekeepinge and to have a great charge of children. . . .

Nicholas Sotherton of Melton is certefyed unable by the Mayor of Norwich and by divers other Justices of peace within the Cittye, and was in prison for debt at the time of the certificat making. . . .

The widdow Seaman of Foxley is certefyed unable by William Rugge Esquier, Justice of the lymitt. . . .

The Lady Betty keepeth a great howse and by her hospitality in myne owne knowledge is indebted and not able to lend without borrowinge. . . .

Thomas Reade of Est Rudham is greatly indebted, so farre forth as he dareth verie seeldome come out of his house.

John Thrower of Yarmouth is a seafaring man and the last

sommer had the losse of a shippe and is certefyed by the honest inhabitants of the Towne not able to lend without borrowing.

[31 others are similarly certified as unable to lend. There follow lists of persons dead, 14; persons mistaken, 6; persons unknown or who have left the country, 17; persons who lent in the last year, 3; persons judged able to lend, 34.]

SECTION VI.—PATENTS AND MONOPOLIES.

1. PROTEST OF THE LONDON BROKERS AND NOTARIES AGAINST THE GRANT OF A MONOPOLY IN THE REGISTRATION OF INSURANCE POLICIES, 1574-75.

[Lansdowne MSS., No. 113, Art. 9 (ii), ff. 30 *seq.*]

To the righte honourable Jeames Hawes Lorde Maior of the Citie of London and his righte worshipfull brethren the Aldermen of the same.

Most humble complayne vnto your honour and the whole Senate of this noble citie of London your oratours the sworne Brokers and freemen, beinge thirtie householders in nomber charged with skotte and lotte as other Freemen be that are inhabiters within the same Citie, and bounde with suerties in diverse and sondry greate sommes of money for their honest and trewe dealinge in their facultie. That whereas of late by colour of a certaine bill exhibited unto the Quenes Majestie and her most honourable Counsell subscribed by certaine citizens there are certaine Lettres Patents obtayned by one Richard Candler, gentleman, to have to him and his deputies the makinge and regestringe of all pollecys and instruments of assuraunce and all other thinges that hereafter shalbe made within this Citie, In which Lettres Patentes your honour and other are authorized to assesse and appointe so muche moneye vppon euerye hundereth as by your discrecions shalbe thoughte good for the regestringe and makinge of the said pollecys of assuraunce to be paid by the assured: charginge and commaundinge by the said Lettres Patentes all manner of persones not to make or cause to be made anye manner of assuraunce pollecye, Intimacion or Renuntiacion other then the said Richarde Candler or his

deputyes, otherwise the same to be vtterlie voide, which assuraunces time out of minde have bene done and yet are done by the Notaryes publicque admitted in that behalf and by us the sworne Brokers of this Citie. Therefore if your honour and worshippes be not a meane to the Quenes Majestie or to her highnes moste honourable Counsell that the premisses maye be revoked it wilbe to the utter undoinge of us your poore oratours the sworne Brokers, And also for the Notaries publick sworne and admitted for like Causes whose livinges doe moste stande by makinge of such writinges and instrumentes, and also the libertie of everye worthie Citizen which now maye make his writinge and assuraunce him self not usinge neyther Notarie nor Broker, excepte he see Commoditie by the same, wilbe therby abridged and taken awaye; consideringe also it is not good that one man should have an office of diverse mens livinges and as it semeth the said Richard Candler of a publick Notarie woulde make him self a Notarye private and make of many mens livings a private gaine to him self and all other in that facte his inferiours or servauntes. In tender Consideracion of the premisses and that also the liberties of this noble Citie and fredomes of the inhabitauntes of the same maye by such like meanes be taken awaie, It may please your honour and worshippes to tender the humble suite of your saide Oratours and to be a meane unto the Quenes highnes or her most honourable Counsell that the olde fredomes liberties and Customes of this noble Citie may be maintayned kepte and continewed, and those which goe aboute to bringe in newe innovacions and invencions maye misse and be debarred from their purpose; and so muche the rather for that everye free man oughte to be free and occupie his trade in all suche thinges as are for the maintenaunce of his livinge by good order, otherwise they shall receaue small Commoditie by their fredome. And thus your said Oratours shall dailye praye to God for your honour and worshippes estates longe to prosper.

1. First as touchinge the office of a Notarie, it hath ben frequented time out of minde and the prerogative of admission of persones mete to the same function (after thexoneracion of our predecessours from exaccions and other thinges from the sea of

Rome) was graunted by acte of parliamente (amongest other thinges) in anno xxx of our late Soveraigne Lorde of moste worthie and famous memorie Kinge Henrie the Eighte to the Lord Archebishoppe of Canterburie, and sithence that time ratified and confirmed by acte of parliamente also in the fifte yere of the reigne of our Soveraigne Ladie the Quenes Majestie that now is, From whome your suppliauntes haue their authorities. The which authorities accordinge to the expresse wordes of the said former Statute of our late Soveraigne Lord King Henrie the Eighte oughte to be accepted approved and allowed and admitted good and effectualle in the lawe in all places Courtes and Jurisdictions aswell spirituall as Temporall within this Realme as ells where within her Majesties Dominions, without anie Revocation or Repeale to be had therof, and all actes to be done had or executed accordinge to the Tenour of our graunte made by authoritie of the saide acte of parliamente oughte to be firme permanente and remaine in force as by the same statute appeareth. The which premisses are abridged and taken from us if the Quenes Majestes Lettres Patents graunted to Richarde Candler Mercer be not revoked. And also a Notarie is a publique person and in his office bounde and oughte to serve all men as by their authorities maye appeare.

2. Item, whereas our Soveraigne Ladie the Quenes Majestie by her highnes Lettres Patents hath graunted to the said Richarde Candler the office of makinge and regestringe of all manner of assuraunce pollecies Intimacions Renuntiacions and other thinges whatsoeuer that hereafter shalbe made vppon shippes or shippes goodes or merchaundize or anie other thinge or thinges, in the Royalle Exchaunge aforesaide or in anie other place or places within the Citie of London, by any manner of person or persones of what Nacion Condicion or qualitie soeuer he or they be, eyther goinge out of this Realme or cominge in or cominge or goinge into any other place or places whatsoeuer: Thereby all Notaries Scrivenours Brokers and others beinge free of the Citie of London (onlesse it please her highnes or her Majesties most honourable Counsell to revoke the saide Patente) are vtterlie barred from vsinge their facultie vocacion and Callinge, which ever hitherto they have used without Contradiccion, to the vtter

impouerishinge of a greate nomber who have spente their youthe and time in the faculties and sciences aforesaid.

3. Item, as touchinge the kepinge of the Register, yt is knowen that pollices of assuraunce Intimacions and Renuntiacions have bene time out of minde and are at this presente kepte by Notaries of good experience and knowledge (amongest other their actes and dealinges), And besides this the Scriveners beinge mere Scryveners of London broughte and trayned vpp in that Science are sworne to make their writinges duelye and iustlie and to kepe due Registers of the same and also have wardens of their Companie to correcte their misdoinges (yf anie Cause be). But the said Richard Candler beinge of another Companie and otherwise broughte vpp is not in like manner to be comptrolled (yf he shall doe amisse). For want of which sufficiente gouernmente, by meanes of unskillfull persones which heretofore and at this presente have withoute knowledge and experience vsed the same within the Citie of London beinge of other Companies and havinge no like wardens to correcte their misdoinges, yt hath and daily dothe turne to the greate hinderaunce of the Quenes Majestes Subiectes.

4. Item, vnder the pretence of those wordes (makinge and registringe) there ys taken awaye not only the office of the said Notaries but also the office of the sworne Brokers within this Citie beinge many in nomber, for that he seketh to be allowed vppon the hundreth a certaine somme for only regestringe, wheras anye Notarie will make an assuraunce (as touchinge the regestringe and writinge) for two shillinges if it be for two Thousande poundes or more.

5. Item, if all Notaries Scryveners and sworne Brokers shalbe prohibited for makinge of assuraunces and one havinge the doinge therof, the assured muste neades attende his leasure and pleasure before he can have them made, And for expedicion (if it shall please him) shalbe enforced to paye extraordinarye fees. By meanes wherof greate Discommoditie Daunger losse and hinderaunce may falle to her Majestes Subiectes and others, for that some times the forbearaunce of one howers subscribinge to a pollicye of assuraunce maye be a greate losse to the owner of the goodes (as often hath happened), which by meanes of the

lacke of makinge the pollicie with expedicion and procuringe the fyrmynge to the same of the assurer may often times fall. And whereas a brute of the losse of some shippe or goodes is sometimes bruted in London and thervppon offered for the assuraunce of a $c^{li.}$ sometimes $xx^{li.}$ $xxx^{li.}$ $xl^{li.}$ and sometimes more or lesse, yf the merchaunt owner of the goodes shalbe forced to repayre to the said Richard Candler for his pollecy, for lacke of havinge therof in shorte time accordinge to his requeste the newes maye come certaine of the losse and so the merchaunte shall not be assured, and he not beinge verie welthye and the same pretended pollecye of assuraunce publicquely knowen by viewinge of his pollecye maye therby be an vtter overthrowe of his Credit and so the merchaunte come to greate hinderaunce and vndoinge.

6. Item, merchaunt straungers ever have or for the moste parte vsed and doe vse to haue their pollecies made in the Italian Frenche Spanishe and Dutche tongues, wherby they doe and maye aduertise their frendes and factors in the parties of beyonde the Seas of their doinges and sende them Copies of their assuraunces, the which haue bene and are made by suche as vnderstande those languages whome they please to repaire vnto amongest the nomber of suche Notaryes and Scryveners as are therin able to serve the merchauntes as heretofore they haue done.

7. Item, wheras diverse times merchauntes straungers havinge assuraunces made in Englande beinge otherwise employed about their affayres have putte their Notaryes and Scrivenours to receave the same to large sommes, which hath ben honestly and trewlie repayed vnto their handes againe and also some retornes of moneye when the assuraunce hathe not taken place, which moneye beinge often of greate valewe and comminge to the particuler gouernmente of one man might perhappes come shorte to the trewe owners therof.

The privileges latelie graunted by her Maiestie vnder her highnes greate Seale of Englande to Richarde Candler, Citizen and Mercer of London, (without the same be revoked) wilbe the impoverishinge overthrow and vtter decaie of all the Notaryes publicke of this Citie, with their Children servauntes apprentices and families to the nomber of one hundreth and seventie

persones and above, who doe live only vppon the makinge of pollicies of assuraunce Intimacions Renuntiacions and other writinges graunted to the said Richarde Candler in the foresaid Patente. The names of which said Notaries doe hereafter followe, viz.

[Here follow sixteen names.]

[*Endorsed*] Petitions of the Merchauntes, Brokers, Notaries in London To the Lord Maior Againste the graunte of Richard Candler for makinge and regestringe of pollicies of assurance, etc.

2. ARGUMENTS IN FAVOUR OF GRANTING A MONOPOLY TO AN INCORPORATED COMPANY TO MAKE PAPER, 1586 (?)

[S.P.D. Eliz., Vol. CXCV., No. 132.]

For the makinge of paper and of monopolyes.

A monopoly is where in any Realme there is a setled trade of any one nedfull Comoditie, ether wrought or unwrought, By which many do rayse ther Lyvinges, as in wolle, ltyne, Lede, Clothe, Corne, wine, wood, alam, mader, thred, paper, Canves, and suche Like; yf any one suche Comoditie be by graunt from the prince Brought to one mans hand, so that none shall have the transportinge out, The bringinge in, or the servinge of the state, of any suche nedfull Comodities, But that vnder payne of Confyscacion the same must passe that one mans hand, The same is said to be monopoly and very preiudiciall to the state.

And a preveledg to make paper in England, gravnted to a pryvat man, will overthrow the practysor therof, whensoever it shalbe so attempted, as heretofore it hathe don all suche as hathe attempted the same. The pryvat man havinge in stocke for his enterprice perhapes v^{c}, or possible a thowsand pound or more, and moved to deale herein, ether of Love to his Cuntry or for Love of pryvat gayne, Consumes his Stocke before the gaynes of the new Trade comes in, by these means: By procuringe of Carpinters skylfull for his purpose, to Buyld the myll and to make the severall sortes of Instrumentes for the trade; By buyinge the fesymple of an apte seate for suche a myll; By the

Chargable procuringe over from beyond the seas of Straungers to make Paper, and by the mayntayninge of them with meate drinke and wadges till paper be made, And to Instructe and Lerne our Englishe people. The stocke is thus spente, Before ther Can be any quantitie made, wherby the practiser and his home people may have Lerned the parfet Instructions in every particuler Labor, Appurtayninge to the arte.

And while these thinge are in hand in England, The englyshe merchaunt and Stravngers, envyinge the device, and prefering ther pryvat gayne Before the Comoditie that may ensue to our Cuntry by setting of the pore in worke, do of set purpose and determynacion, by that tyme the setter vp of the same Hathe worne him self out of his stocke, And before he hathe made any paper Redy to the sale To stay him from vndoing, Bringe into englond as moche paper as stocke and Credit bothe is able to attayne out of fraunce, And so with the great plentie fyles the Realme full, and of mere pollicy for a tyme seles the same with out gayne, ye and Rather then fayle to great Losse.

And further they will fynde means to practice with the workmen stravngers which have traveled in the worke, Intysinge them with great Rewardes to retorne home into their Cuntry. And so the pore englysheman, the setter vp of the trade, Lackinge vent and workemen bothe, and not having trayned vp of our owne people to be skylfull in the trade, shall Rest vndon, and the Trade Retorne ayayne Into Fraunce, which Example of overthrow of enterpryses of good trades dothe terrify the subiectes for a dozen or xx yeres after to deale in the same, and from the Bringinge in of sundry other trades, that might Infynitly set the pore subiectes on worke, To the Inrichinge of the prince and the state. And this [*sic*] by the malice of the merchaunt, aswell englishe as stravngers, all good attemptes are overthrown; for These and suche Like practyses The Lord movntioy felt in his device of alam, Mr. Jhon hales in the makinge of fustians, Remigeus in his paper, Achelley in his Cardes, and dyvers others in makinge of harnes, Stele, and sundry other thinge very nedfull and profytable for the Realme.

For Remedie wherof, it is to be thought, That yf paper might be made in this Realme by way of Corporacion, with these or

suche Like Circumstaunces folowinge, That the same should not be overthrown, as beinge begon of a pryvat man it hathe sundry times bine, and still must be yf some other device be not put in ure [*sic*], and therefore it may Be said, that to satisfy at the full the Charge that suche an enterpryce dothe Requier, It shalbe nedfull to Incorporate a Body politike with graunt of preveledge to make paper.

Then, for ventes sake of the same paper so to be made, to Inhibite all printers in englond from printinge with any other paper then with the same the said corporacion makes, The said Corporacion servinge suche printers with as good or Better paper then they now printe with all, And at as Resonable pryce as now They buy the same, or have don in vij yeres Before the graunt.

That for Lyke Reason the haberdashers and all other subiectes shall vent no Forren paper, The Corporacion making as good as the forren, And sellinge the same as Resonably, as now the englyshe or frenche merchauntes do or have don most accostomably in vij yeres before.

And to furnyshe the Corporacion with the substaunce wherof the paper is made, That Inhibition be that no Lynnen Ragges, or shredes of Lynnen, or Clypinges or shavinges of papers or Lether, be Caryed out of the Realme, but that the Corporacion may have the same, gevinge as moche as the same Thinges are now Comonly sold for.

And for that the Prince shall not Lose her Costome By not comynge over of foren paper, The Corporacion shall pay for all the paper made in England upon sale Costom after the Rate as is now paid for suche as comes from the partes beyond the seas into this Realme.

Furthermore it may be said That from the gatheringe of the Lynnen Ragges wherof paper is made to the parfet fynishinge of the same paper in all particular pointes, By Resonable Coniecture, it will set in worke of the naturall subiectes of this Realme yerely to the nomber of vij or viij thowsand; yt shall also besydes that nomber, yf the makinge of paper be brought in and Contynued in the Realme, mayntaine yerly in worke on that paper, in makinge of Cardes and doinge of thinges otherwyse

not to be exercysed in the Realme, almost as many more in nomber, which nombers of people we now mayntaine at worke in fraunce. And we kepe so many of our owne subiectes Here in the Realme Idle and vnoccupied not onlie Chargable but hurtfull to the state, for it is to trew that the Realme of englond dothe yerly Pay out in forren Cuntries, for the onlie workmanship of thinges ther wrought, To the some of xx^{c} Thowsand poundes a yere; for proffe therof Exteme of what valew the wrought Comodities are worthe, that are yerly brought into the Realme; And ever make this accompte that the one half therof is paid for the onlie workmanship therof.

All which beinge Consydered, it may be said that a graunt made to a Corporacion for the makinge of paper, vnder suche Covenauntes and condicions as aforesaid, the same is not monopoly, nether Likely to be overthrown, But to Continew to the benyfit of the state, for one most speciall and nedfull Thinge it is to provide to set the people on worke, by how many more sciences so moche the more better, for we have the dayly proffe That when The merchauntes Lacke sale of Clothe, Into what necessitie the pore spiners and Carders are dryven. And it is moche to be desyred that The makinge of Lynnen Clothe, Especially the Common courser usiall sortes, ware more plentifully made then it is, for that only one trad ware able to set Thowsandes on worke, and in time would ware out all vacabouns and Rogges.

[*Endorsed*] A devise for the making of paper, with a license to be grawnted to an Incorporation therfore.

3. PATENT FOR THE MANUFACTURE OF WHITE SALT, 20 FEB., 1586.

[Lansdowne MSS., No. 52, Art. 24, ff. 56-61.]

Elizabeth by the grace of god [etc.] To all Maiors, Justices, Sherifes, Bayliffes, Constables, Escheators, Comptrollers, Searchers and to all other officers, ministers and subiectes and to everie of them to whom yt shall appertayne, gretinge. Knowe ye that we, in consideracion of the surrender of former letters

patentes by us made vnto our welbeloved subiect Thomas Wilkes esquier, one of the Clarkes of our privie Counsell, for the makinge of white salt in the portes of Lynne regis in the countie of Norffolk and Boston in the countie of Lincoln, and of certayne other priveledges therin contayned, And for other good consideracions vs especiallie movinge, of our especiall grace, certayne knowledge, and mere mocion, and by our prerogative royall, for us, our heires and successors, hath geven and graunted and by these presentes doth geve and graunte vnto the sayd Thomas Wilkes his deputies and assignies and everye of them, Full power licence and authoritie libertie and priveledge, without the desturbance let contradiction and gaine saye of vs our heires and successors or of anie other person or persons whatsoever, duringe the space of one and twentie yeres next and immediatelie enseuinge the date of these our letters patentes, by hime or them selves ther deputies or servantes to worke or make or cause to be made and wrought whete salt at the Costes and Charges of the sayd Thomas Wilkes his deputies or assignees, within the said portes of Lynne regis and Boston and within the port of Kingston vppon Hull in the countie of Kingston vppon Hull, and everie of them, and within all the crekes places and members of the same portes and everie or any of them belonginge or appertayninge; And that he the said Thomas Wilkes his servantes deputies and assignies and everie of them shall and maye from tyme to tyme and at all tymes after the date of these our letters patentes sell and vtter the sayd salt soe made within the sayd portes of Lynne regis Boston and Kingston vppon Hull aforesaid and everie or anie of them, and all the Crekes places and members to the same portes or anie of them belonginge, and in the Countries adioyninge to the same portes or to anie of them, to his or ther best profitt commoditie and advantage to anie person or persons whatsoever within this our realme of England.

Straytelie charginge prohibitinge and commaundinge all manner of person and persons whatsoever, aswell denisons as straungers and all other our subiectes, other then the sayd Thomas Wilkes his servantes deputies or assignes as aforesayd,

that neyther they nor anie other by ther or anie ther meanes procurement assent and agrement duringe the sayd tearme of one and twentie yeres, without the speciall licence permission and consent of the sayd Thomas Wilkes his deputies or assignies therunto first had in wrightinge, shall make worke bringe in vtter or put to sale or cause to be made wrought brought in uttered or put to sale anie manner of white salt within the sayd portes of Lynne regis Boston and Kingston vppon Hull or anie of them, or anie of the Crekes places and members to them or anie of them belonginge, vppon payne of forfeiture of all and everie quantitie of white salte soe by them or anie of them made wrought brought in vttered or put to sale as aforesaide, the one moyetie therof to be to the use and behofe of vs our heires and successors and the other moyetie to the vse of the sayd Thomas Wilkes his executors and assignies, And vppon such further payne and punishement as we, our heires or successors, may by anie wayes or meanes impose on the offenders in that behalfe. Prohibitinge and straytlie commaunding that none of our subiectes shall destrube hinder or let the said Thomas Wilkes his servantes deputies and assignies nor anie of them in makinge utteringe sellinge of white salte within the sayd portes of Lynne Regis Boston and Kyngston vppon Hull aforesaid, and the crekes places and members of the same or anie the counties thervnto adiacent, anie statute graunt usage ordinance or priveledge heretofore by us or anie of our most noble progenitors had and made to the contrarie therof in anie wise notwithstandinge, payinge therfore vnto us our heires and successors into the receipt of our exchequer one yerelie rent of six poundes thirtene shillinges fouer pence at the feast of S^{t} Michaell the archangell and the annunciacion of our ladie by even porcions. And we doe further prohibite charge and straytlie commaunde all and everie our customers comptrollers searchers wayters and all other officers and ministers whatsoever of the sayd portes of Lynne Regis Boston and Kingeston vppon Hull aforesaid and everie of them and of all the crekes places and members of them and everie of them for the tyme beinge not to permitt or suffer anie entrie or entries to be made within anie of ther Custome bokes of

anie whete salte at anie tyme or tymes duringe the sayd tearme of one and twentie yeres to be brought into the said portes of Lynne Regis Boston and Kingeston vppon Hull aforesaid or anie of them or into the crekes places or members of them or anie of them, without the especiall licence consent or agrement of the said Thomas Wilkes his deputies or assignies or some of them in that behalfe in writtinge first had and obtayned.

And yet neverthelesse our intente and meaninge is that if the said Thomas Wilkes his servantes deputies or assignees shall not or doe not imeadiatelie from and after the date of thes our letters patentes from tyme to tyme and at all tymes for and duringe the saide tearme of one and twentie yeres make or provide or cause to be made or provided soe muche good and sufficiente white salte as shall serve for the necessarie vse and expence of the Inhabitantes of the sayd portes of Lynne regis Boston and Kyngeston vppon Hull aforesaid, and the Crekes places and members to the sayd portes and everie of them belonginge and of the Counties thervnto adioyninge, that then and soe often and for suche tyme onlye and no longer it shall or may be lawfull to and for anie other to bringe in anie white salte into anie the said portes for the necessarie relefe and provision of suche as shall inhabit or be within the same portes and counties adioyninge or anie of them, Anie thing in these presentes contayned to the Contrarie therof in anie wise notwithstandinge. In witnes wherof we have caused these our letters to be made patentes. Witnes our selfe at Westminster the twentith of Februarie in the eight and twentith yere of our reigne.

[*Endorsed*] Coppie of Mr. Wilkes Lycence for making of Salt.

4. PROTEST OF BOSTON AGAINST THE SALT MONOPOLY, APRIL 1586.

[Lansdowne MSS., No. 47, Art. 68.]

Consideracions whie the patent made to Mr. Thomas Wilkes, one of the clarkes of her Maiesties moste honorable privie counsell, should be resumed as for Boston and made voyde.

Imprimis, for that thereof ensueth the last and vttermost decaye of the traphique that is remaininge in that porte, whereof ensueth manifold losses to her maiestie and to the towne.

Secondlie, because it is contrariant to the charters made to the maior and Burgesses of the said towne by her maiesties progenitors and by her Royal person.

Thirdlie, because it is contrariant to the lawes of this realme.

Fourthlie, because it is one thing in shewe and another in execution, or els it cannot profit the grauntee.

A sufficient parte of profe of the first.

The trades before tyme vsed were principally by the merchantes of the staple and of the styllyard, both whiche are decayed ther, as is manifest, and yet if nede were the marchantes of those societies in this citie can declien. And nowe the trade remainge is with the scottes, for salt principally and secondlie for fishe, heringe, course dyaper, lynnen cloth, course tapistry; and the composicion for salt with them, being in Mr. Wilkes and his deputies power and being arbitrarie, is a wrest sufficient to bring in all the rest of the merchandise to the patentees frendes handes, because salt is the chefe of everie ship loadinge and without it they seldome loade anie ship coming thither. And the losses to her maiestie is the fiftene of one C markes yerelie, so ofte as by parliament it is graunted, her feefarme of twenty poundes yerele, her provision for the household at the yerely rate of vj *li.* vj *s.* viij *d.*, subsydies and customes, and enfebling of her manred [*sic*] there.

A sufficient parte of profe of the second.

Because it is graunted by charter that boston shalbe a free borrow and it shalbe lawfull to the freemen of that place to buye and sell all commodities and merchandize thither cominge, and thinges bought and sold by forreiners to be forfeted vnto them of that corporacion, And that everie person that shalbe free there shall receve his fredome at the maior and burgesses handes, And that none shall enioye fredome ther that is not ther resident and beareth scott and lott. And this patent is prohibitory of them to buy and sel saltę of anie ǫther but Mr. Wilkes and his deputies,

geveth him and his deputies freedome in the towne touchinge this kind of commoditie, not being a freman allowed by the towne nor bearing scott and lott nor resiant.

A sufficient parte of profe of the third.

It is contrariant to the lawes of this realm and customes equivalent to the lawes written, that a forreiner should be privileged in a free borrow in such manner, and the inhabitantes restrained, And that men shold not convert ther salt pittes and salt cotes, being their inheritance, to ther best vse. And hetherto the princes of this realm have not extended ther prerogatives to the preiudice of the subiectes inheritances in such case.

A sufficient parte of profe of the fourthe.

The patent semethe to be for makinge, but the execution, if benefet shalbe made to the patentee, must be by buyenge. And it seemeth to be for barring strangers of gain gotten from naturall subiectes, And it wilbe prediudiciall to subiectes as in buing, selling, making, bringinge in, And in dearth of salte: because it cannot be made and brought into those places to be afforded so good chepe as the scottes afforde it, As is evident by the geving over of the trade of makinge salt in those partes vpon that occasion. And this cannot be helped by workmanshipe and skyll, because the substance whereof salt is made, and the stuffe wherewith it is boyled, is not so good of yeld and so chepe as in Scotland. And if Mr. Wilkes and his deputies provide for hus by buinge of the Scottes, that is not the meaning of the graunt. And hetherto his deputies have made no salt with hus, but have offred to buye salt of the scottes.

[*Endorsed*] Ap. 1586. Considerations to insue the revoking of Mr. Wilkes graunt for Boston.

5. ANSWER TO A SIMILAR PROTEST FROM LYNN, 17 MAY, 1587.

[Lansdowne MSS., No. 52, Art. 20.]

The abstracte as well of the causes of the complaintes againste the assignes of Thomas Wilkes certefied by the Commissioners for Lynn by their Letters to the Counsell, as also of the aunsweres and offers of John Smyth, Assigne of

Thomas Wilkes aforesaid for makeinge and providinge of whyte salte within the portes of Hull, Boston and Lynne.

The obiection i. That vnder the pretence of makeinge of salte the assignees of Mr. Wilkes have ingrossed [and] restrayned the scottes and others to bringe in salte and ruled the price at their pleasure.

The aunswer and offer. After hir Maiestes graunte to Mr. Wilkes and whiles his pannes and provisione were makeinge, the said John Smyth and his deputies were dryven to buy salte of the Scotes to serve those places. But now his pannes and provisione being made, and more preparinge to be sett vpp for makeinge of whyte salte, he is able and well [can] serue those places with 3000 weighes or more. And referreth the price thereof to be rated by the Counsell, whereby he shall and will performe the benefyttes suggested, and all the harmes mencioned in this Article shalbe avoyded.

Obiectyon ij. The price of salte is raysed by the Lycence, And the assignes haue taken excessyve gaines.

Aunswer and offer. The price of whyte salt is raysed by the scarcytie and dearthe of gray and bay Salte, as is evident. And yf his deputyes haue taken excessyve gaines (as they deny, affirming that they haue solde allwayes under the markettes adioyninge), yet, the same being done in his absence and without his consent, ought not to be laid soe heavylie vpon him, the rather bycause he will see yt to be fully reformed. And the gaines from hensforthe shalbe ruled by the rate of the counsell.

Obiection iij. They cannot affoorde salte vpon salte under v *li.* the weigh but the Scottes will sell as good for half the somme.

Aunswer and offer. He will sell salte vpon salte, and all his other salte farr exceedinge the Scottes salte for iij *li.* the weigh, and never exceede the price in warr or peace. And vpon abatement of the price of graye and bay salte and other necessaries for makeinge of whyte salte, he will abate the price of his salte as the counsell shall appointe.

Obiection iiij. They haue made provision in Yorkeshier with their excessyve gaine and hir Maiestie shall loose hir customes inwarde and outwarde.

Aunswer and offer. This provysion is not in Yorkeshier, But

at Sonderland in the byshopricke of Durham, where the coles serve to none other vse then for makeinge of salte, And where above iij^{c} good subiectes are latelye planted and shalbe maynteyned by this trade and for this purpose. And touchinge hir maiestes customes he trusteth to find favorable tolleracion, in regarde of the greate benefytt that shall come to those places and realme by his industrye and charges. Nevertheles he will yelde himself to the order of hir maiestes Counsell therein.

Obiection v. The Scottes shalbe dryven to sell ther fishe and other comodities brought by them to those Assignes. And thereby yt is thought the price of graine shalbe greately raysed.

Aunswer and offer. He will not anyewise buye or deale with the fishe or other comodyties brought by the Scottes. So as noe hurte shall growe that way.

Obiectyon vj. Corne brought to Lynn in botes shalbe solde onlye to the Assignes, Otherwise the bringers shall have noe salte.

Aunswer. Suche as bringe Corne in botes shall sell yt at their owne pleasure, and be franckly serued with salte at the price appointed, withowt denyall or stopp.

Obiectyon vij. It is concluded that for those causes the graunt is to the pryvate harme of a greate nomber of housholders and to the like publick hurte of persones of all degrees within the sayde Countyes. So as the Commyssioners aforesaid can finde noe meanes howe to preserve the Lysence.

Thus because all the causes of the greiffes of the complainauntes and of all the pryvate and publicke hurtes rehersed shalbe removed by the offer and meanes aforesaid, and by thorder of the Counsell to be sett downe for the same: And in regarde of the veary greate charges which this Assigne and others haue sustained to make and sett vp pannes and howses, and to intertaine many Artyficers and worckmen for this cause, and to the generall profytte of this Realm: And that a greate nomber of good subiectes and their families shalbe maynteyned by this trade devysed for makeinge of white salte, to serve those and many other places in this Realm in warr and peace, and without the ayde of anye forren nacion: And for the favour to be shewed to M^{r} Wilkes hir maiestes servaunte, whyles he is ymployed in

hir service: Therefore he humbly prayeth that his offers may be accepted, that thereby he maie enioie and haue the benefytt of hir maiestes graunte, and that thereby order may be geven by the Lordes and other of hir maiestes moste honorable pryvie Counsell and for the preservacion of hir Maiestes graunte and good disposicion of this cause, as to their good Lordes shalbe thoughte moste convenyente.

Albe yt that the said John Smyth hathe great Store in his storhowse at Lynn of Salte upon salte and other whyte salte, and is readye to serue all men therewith according to hir maiestes graunt and lysence aforesaid remayninge still in force, Yet sundrye of the complainauntes without any good matter or warrant haue sent abroad to many places thereaboutes, and publyshed that hir maiestes saide graunte is called in, And that the said Assigne hathe noe further to deale therein, whereupon the benefytt of hir maiestes graunte is allready taken from him, without any order for the same. Therefore he humbly prayeth their good Lordes to geiue speedy order for the reformacion of his releiffe herein.

[*Endorsed*] May the 17. The Complainte and the anser to the same for Salte makinge.

6. GRANT OF A PATENT TO MAKE IRON WITH COAL, 9 OCT., 1589.

[Lansdowne MSS., No. 59, Art. 73, ff. 196-99 b.]

Elizabeth [etc.] to all to whome it shall apperteyne greetinge.

Whereas wee are crediblye gyven to understande that in many and sundrye places in this our Realme of Englande there bee erected divers and sundrie Mylles for the makinge of Steele and Iron, the which no doubte be of greate momente and of no smale benifytt to this our said Realme of Englande yf they may bee used in their righte kinde and Order.

And whereas also many of our trustye and welbeloued subiectes, of a comendable mynde seekinge meanes to woorke publique benifytt of this our said realme, haue to their greate costes and charges endevored them selves for the erectinge of

the same, and yet contrarye to their well disposed myndes have encurred the pennaltie of our lawes and statutes by the fellinge, hewinge and cuttinge downe many and sundry tymber trees, And in convertinge them to Coale for the making of Iron and Steele and for the meltinge of Leade, Aswell to the great hinderance of our shippinge, Thee cheeffest fortresse and strengthening of this our said Realme, As also to the vtter decay and distruction of other woodes, wherby our Navye is not onlye lyke To decaye in contynewaunce of tyme, But also throughe the excessyve spoylinge and consuminge of Tymber and other woodes for Cole, the makinge of Iron Steele and Leade shall lykewyse surcease, to the greate detryment of this our said Realme and the vndoinge of many our lovinge subiectes.

Knowe yee therfore that wee, of our Princelye mynde and care that wee haue for the benifytt of our lovinge subiectes and preservacion of this our realme, Forecastinge the greate hurte and Inconvenience that maye befall this our saide realme by the Excessive spoyle of tymber and other woodes which are converted into Coale for the makinge of Iron Steele and Leade, And therewithall beinge desyrous how to prevente and remedye the same, And yet neverthelesse to mayntayne the makinge of Iron Steele and Leade, Beeinge crediblye gyven to understande that our faithfull and lovinge subiect Thomas Proctor of Warssell in the county of Yorke Esquire, havinge spente muche tyme in the said Arte, Hath by his practise industrye and indevor to his greate coste and charges Founde out a rare waye and meanes by vsinge of Earthcoale Seacoale Turffe Peate or some of them To make as much Iron Steele or leade with one Loade of woodcoale As hath been hertofore and is now vsuallye maide with Fower loades of woodcoale, So that by this good and industrius meanes in every Fower loades of woodcoale There shalbe for ever heareafter three Loades saved, which, consideringe the greate quantytie of Iron Steele and Leade that is maide within our saide realme, Will not onlye bee a marvilous sparinge of woode and tymmber in this our sayde realme, Wherbye our Navye may be the better maynteigned to the inestimable benifytt of our posterytie, But be a meane also for the contynewance of Iron steele and leade within this our said

realme, which otherwyse (within processe of tyme) for wante of woodcoale were lyke to decaye.

And consideringe with our selves that everye industrius Act which shall tende to the benifytt of our Common wealthe is not to be commended onlye but to be rewarded, And beinge desyrous aswell to gratyfye the labor and travell, as also to recompence the greate coste and chardges which our sayde lovinge subiectes [*sic*] hath bestowed in the findinge out of this secret, And also for the better incouragemente of others our lovinge subiectes to imploye their tyme in like workes commodeous for this our saide Realme, Haue of our meare mocion, especiall grace, and certen science, gyven leaue and graunted And by this our present lettres patentes Do gyve leave and graunte to our trusty and welbeloued subiectes Thomas Proctor and William Peterson onlye and to their lawfull assigne and Assignes and everye of them, To effectuate exercyse and vse the said meanes and way to make Iron steele or Leade By vsinge of Earthcoale Seacoale Turffe Peate or some of them which to him or them shall seeme for that purpose most fytt and necessarye, at such tyme and tymes and in suche place or places within this our said realme as to them or any of them shall seeme convenient, Duringe the terme of seaven yeares next and imediatlye insuinge the date of theis presentes, Yeldinge and payinge to vs our heires and Successors duringe the said tearme of seaven yeares the some of ij *s.* vj *d.* of currant money of this our saide realme For everye tonn of Iron so hereafter to be maide, and vj *s.* viij *d.* of lyke currant money for every tonne of Steele so heareafter to be maide into barres or gaddes, and sixpence of lyke currant money for every Tonne or foddre of lead so herafter to be maide in this our said realme By the said Thomas Proctor and William Peterson or eather of them their assigne or assignes Or any other person or persons to whome the said Thomas Proctor and William Peterson or any of them Shall, by vertue of theis our lettres Patentes, give leaue or lycence to make exercyse vse or effectuate the same, To be paid yerelye duringe the saide tearme to our Receavor generall for the tyme beinge of every shyer within this our said realme wherin the same Iron shalbe so made, Or into the receipt of

our Excheqour yerelye at the feast of St. Mychaell tharchaungell and thanunciacion of our Ladye or wythin fortye dayes after the same feastes.

[No person to make iron, steel or lead with sea coal, etc., during the next seven years without licence of the patentees, on pain of forfeiture of ten pounds, one half to the Crown and one half to the patentees, and on pain of such other penalties as may be imposed.] Provyded alwayes that theis our present letters patentes be not anywayes preiudiciall or hurtfull to any person or persons for the making of Iron steele or Leade by any such vsuall devise or meanes as they or any of them haue heretofore commonlye vsed, or which they by their industrie have invented heretofore put vsually in practyse: Any thinge in theis our lettres patentes conteyned to the contrarye notwithstandinge.

And wheras our said lovinge subiectes [*sic*] Thomas Proctor hath founde out this secret of makinge of Iron with Seacoale Turffe and Peate, Tendinge as well to an uniuersall benifytt of our whole realme in sparing of wood and Timmber, as also to vs in yeldinge in imposicion of vj *s.* viij *d.* the Tonne of Steele And ij *s.* vj *d.* Iron and vj *d.* Leade, is in theis our present lettres patentes streightted and tyed to a certaine iust proporcion and rate of three partes at the least of Seacoale Turffe or Peate And but one parte woodcoale and no more to be expended about the premisses: Forasmuche as wee are credibly geven to vnderstande by our said lovinge subiectes that all Seacoale is not of lyke goodnes nor all Iron stoane of lyke quallytie to bee cast blowne or wrought, And therfore in some place Iron may be made very well with Seaccale onlye without any woodcoale at all, To our greate benefytt, And in some other places cannot be performed but with a mixture of sea coale turffe or peate and some quantytie of woodcoale: And further that in divers places of our said realme vsuall springe wood or fier wood may be very well spared for the benifytt of the owners, which keepe the same for that purpose onlye: Our will and pleasure is that in such places only and no other our said lovinge subiectes, vsinge and takinge the best or most parte of seacoale Turffe or Peate, shall not be tyed or apporcioned to three

partes of Seacoale Turffe or peate, or in about the premisses, But shall neverthelesse vse their best and dutyfull endevor in makinge of Iron as afforesaid; Any thinge herin before conteigned to the contrarye therof notwithstandinge.

[The patentees to deliver twice yearly a certificate of the number of tons of iron, steel and lead made, on penalty of ten shillings for every ton omitted.]

[The patent may be revoked by the Privy Council if at any time it appear prejudicial.]

Although expresse mencion of the true yerelye value or certayntie of the premisses or of any of them, or of any other gyftes or grauntes by vs or any of our progenitors vnto the said Thomas Proctor and William Peterson before this tyme maide, in theis presentes is not maide, or any statute, Act, ordinance, provicion, or restrainte therof to the contrarye maide, had, ordened or provided, or any oth[er th]inge, cawse, or matter whatsoever notwithstandinge. In wytnes wherof wee have caused theis our lettres to be maide patentes. Witnes our selfe, Westminster, the ixth day of October in the one and thirty yere of our Raygne.

Per breve de priuato sigillo etc. Powle.

This is a trewe Coppy of the lettres pattentes gravntid to Thomas Proctor and William Peterson. Examined ovt of Mr Petersons lettres pattents fyrst gravnted and ther Orrigenall gravnt, which doth remayne in Mr Petersons hande.

Before vs: Ryc. Topclyffe, Gawin Smith, Thomas Proct[or], William Peterson.

[*Endorsed.*] A trewe Coppye of the fyrst lettres pattentes gravnted to Mr Thomas Procter and Mr William Petersonn. For making of Iron without spoyle of woode.

7. COLLECTION BY PATENTEES OF FINES FOR BREACH OF STATUTORY OBLIGATION TO GROW HEMP, 1592.

[Printed from the Townshend MSS. by H. W. Saunders in The History Teachers' Miscellany (1924), Vol. II., No. 4, pp. 61-62.][1]

The xviii of July, 1592.

A true certificate (so nere as we can any way understand) of all suche mony as have bene collected within this halfe hundred by Robert Kirke and William Garter, by vertue of their commissions, for not soweing of hempe, etc.

WESTFLEGGE.

Rollesbye.	In primis William Cappes, gentleman, hath paid unto the said Kirke and Garter at Sundry tymes for not sowinge hempe	xxviii *s.* iv *d.*
	Item George Coke, gentleman, hath paid for iij yeres, iij *s.* iv *d.* a yere	x *s.*
	John Dingle hath paid for ij yeres, iij *s.* iv *d.* a yere . . .	vj. *s.* viij *d.*
Boroughe.	Nicholas Lowe hath paid for iij yeres, iij *s.* iv *d.* a yere .	x *s.*
	Hughe Nepe paid for one yere .	iij *s.* iv *d.*
	Edward Tollm paid for iij yeres .	x *s.*
	John Tasboroughe paid for v yeres	xvi *s.* viii *d.*

[1] This is an example of a peculiarly abusive form of monopoly. Kirke and Garter had received letters patent allowing them to collect for a period of nine years fines incurred by the inhabitants of Norfolk and Suffolk for the non-observance of the almost obsolete acts of 24 Henry VIII. c. 4, and 5 Elizabeth, c. 5, s. 19, requiring all owners of 60 acres or more of land to grow hemp. Among the Townshend MSS. are several complaints against the exactions of these patentees by Justices of the Peace and others, including a letter from the Justices of Suffolk to those of Norfolk, complaining that the soil was quite unsuited for the crop. Finally an enquiry was instituted and the above document is an example of the evidence produced. The acts were repealed in 1593 (by 35 Elizabeth, c. 7, s. 3).

Bilockbye.	Steven Hubbard for ix yeres, iij *s.* iv *d.* a yere	xxx *s.*
Clippesbye.	John Durrant for ix yeres . .	xxx *s.*
Obye.	John Clippersbye, esquier, for iij yeres, iij *s.* iv *d.* a yere . .	x *s.*
	Danyell Shanke, gentleman, for i yere	iij *s.* iv *d.*
	Item, the said Danyell paid him in full discharge of the first commission for vij yeres . .	v *s.*
Thirne.	Gregory Clarke hath paid for viij yeres, iij *s.* iv *d.* a yere . .	xxvi *s.* viij *d.*
	Henry Read for ix yeres, iij *s.* iv *d.* a yere	xxx *s.*
	Thomas Muntford for iij yeres .	x *s.*
Reppes.	Raphe Skirrye for the first vj yeres, iij *s.* iv *d.* a yere, and for one yere vj *s.* viij *d.*, by reason of a writt Kirke brought downe for him and sundry other in this halfe hundred .	xxvj *s.* viij *d.*
	Roberte Amis for one yere vj *s.* viij *d.*, he beinge also in the said writ, and for viij yere iij *s.* iv *d.* a yere, amounte to	xxxiij *s.* iv *d.*
Martham.	Item, in the whole towne for the two first yeres . .	xxv *s.*
	John . . . for vij yeres, iij *s.* iv *d.* a yere	xxiij *s.* iv *d.*
	John Butcher for v yeres .	xxvj *s.* viij *d.* [*sic*].
	Thomas Eden for ij yeres . .	vj *s.* viij *d.*
Westsomerton.	Richard Aldred saith he hath paid the said Kirke and Garter from there fyrst entringe to ther commission to this daye, but howe muche or howe longe he hath paid he cannot tell	

Winterton.	Thomas Shanke, gentleman, hath paid in full discharge of the first commission v *s.* and for ij yeres iij *s.* iv *d.* a yere .	[v *s.*] vj *s.* viij *d.*
Hemsbye.	Symond Marston for ij yeres iij *s.* iv *d.* a yere	vj *s.* viij *d.*
	Symond Marston for iij yeres in Estsomerton and one yere in Ormesbye iij *s.* iv *d.* a yere .	xiij *s.* iv *d.*
	John Goose and his widow paid for the first seven yeres .	xxiij *s.* iv *d.*
	Henry Walker and his father paid for viij yere iij *s.* iv *d.* a yere	xxvj *s.* viij *d.*
	Roberte Ducke for v yeres iij *s.* iv *d.* a yere	xxvj *s.* viij *d.* [*sic*]
	Thomas Lovell for iv yeres . .	xiij *s.* iv *d.*
	Edmund Ducke for v yeres iij *s.* iv *d.* a yere	xxvj *s.* viij *d.* [*sic*]
	Sum total . . .	xxiv *li.* x. *s.*

per me Danyell Shanke.
Gregory Clarke.

8. THE DEBATE ON MONOPOLIES IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, 1601.

[H. Townshend, Historical Collections, or an exact Account of the Proceedings of the Four Last Parliaments of Q. Elizabeth (1680), pp. 230-51 *passim*.]

[Friday, Nov. 20, 1601] . . . At last Mr. Lawrence Hide said: To end this Controversie, because the Time is very short, I would move the House, to have a very short Bill read; Entituled, An Act of Explanation of the Common-Law, in certain Cases of Letters-Patents. And all the House cryed, *I, I, I.*

So, after it was read, the Question was to be Propounded for the Committing of it; and some cryed Commit it, some Ingross it: At length,

Mr. Spicer, Burgess for Warwick, stood up and said; 'Mr.

Speaker, This Assembly may be said to be *Libera Gens;* and therefore, I hope, here is both *Libera Mens*, and *Libera Lingua*. Therefore, Freely and Faithfully, that which I know I will speak to this Honourable House.

'This Bill may touch the Prerogative Royal; which, as I learned the Last Parliament, is so Transcendant, that the Eye of the Subject may not Aspire thereunto. Far be it therefore from me, that the State and Prerogative-Royal of the Prince should be tyed by me, or the Act of any other Subject.

'First, Let us consider the word Monopoly, what it is; *Monos* is *Unus*, and *Polis*, *Civitas:* So then, the Meaning of the Word is; a Restraint of any thing Publick, in a City or Common-Wealth, to a Private Use. And the User called a Monopolitan; *quasi, cujus privatum lucrum est urbis et orbis Commune Malum.* And we may well term this Man, The Whirlpool of the Princes Profits.

'Every Man hath Three especial Friends, his Goods, his Kinsfolk, and his Good Name: These Men may have the Two First, but not the Last. If I were acquainted with any of them, I would wish them to lose some Goods, to gain a Good Name. They are *Infidiosa, quia dulcia:* They are *dolosa, quia dubia.* I speak not, Mr. Speaker, either Repining at her Majesty's Prerogative, or misliking the Reasons of her Grants; but out of Grief of Heart, to see the Town wherein I Serve pestered, and continually vexed with the Substitutes, or Vicegerents, of these Monopolitans; who are ever ill disposed, and ill affected Members.

'I beseech you, give me leave to prove this unto you by this Argument; Whosoever transgresseth the Royal Commission of Her Majesty, being granted upon good and profitable Suggestions, and also abuseth the Authority and Warrant of Her Majesty's Privy-Councel, being granted unto him for the more Favourable Execution of His Patent; this Man is an evil disposed, and dangerous Subject. But that this is true, and hath been done by one Person, a Substitute of a Patentee, I will prove unto you.

'The Major needs not be proved, the Minor I will thus prove: My self am *Occulatus Testis* of this Minor; *Et talis testis plus valet existens unus, quam auriti decem.*

'The Substitutes of the Patentees for Aqua-Vitae, and Vinegar, came not long since to the Town where I Serve; and presently staid Sale of both these Commodities; unless the Sellers would compound with them, they must presently to Councel-Table. My self, though Ignorant, yet not so Unskilful, by reason of my Profession, viewed their Patent, to see whether their Proceedings were according to their Authority, and found they exceeded it in Three Points. For, where the Patent gives Six Months Liberty to the Subject that hath any Aqua-Vitae, to sell the same, this Person comes down within Two Months, and takes Bond of them to his own Use; where he ought to bring them before a Justice of Peace, and they there be bound in Recognizance, and after, to be returned into the Exchequer. And so, by Usurpation, retaineth Power in his own Hands, both to Kill and Save. Thus Her Majesty's Commission being transgressed, both in Zeal, as a Subject and Sworn-Servant to Her Majesty, I hold my self bound in Duty, to certifie the House thereof. And also, this Substitute stands Indicted, as an Obstinate Recusant: Yea, when Her Majestys name hath been spoken of, and Her Self prayed for, he hath refused to stir Hat or Lip.

'My humble Motion therefore is, That we may use some Caution, or Circumspective Care, to prevent this ensuing mischief.'

Mr. Francis Bacon said: 'The Gentleman that last spake tossed so for and against the Bill, that for my own Part, not well hearing him, I did not well understand him. I confess the Bill, as it is, is but in few Words; but yet Ponderous and Weighty.

'For the Prerogative-Royal of the Prince: For my own Part, I ever allowed of it; and it is such, as I hope I shall never see discussed. The Queen, as She is our Sovereign, hath both an Inlarging and Restraining Liberty of Her Prerogative; that is, She hath Power by Her Patents, to set at liberty Things restrained, by Statute-Law, or otherwise: And by Her Prerogative, She may restrain Things that are at Liberty.

'For the First: She may grante *non Obstantes*, contrary to the Penal Laws; which truly, in my own Conscience, are as hateful to the Subject as Monopolies.

'For the Second: If any Man, out of his own Wit, Industry, or Endeavour, find out any thing Beneficial for the Common-Wealth, or bring any New Invention, which every subject of this Realm may use; yet in regard of his Pains, Travel and Charge therein, Her Majesty is pleased (perhaps) to grant him a Privilege, to use the same only by himself, or his Deputies, for a certain time: This is one kind of Monopoly. Sometimes there is a Glut of Things, when they be in Excessive Quantities, as of Corn; and perhaps Her Majesty gives License to one Man, of Transportation: This is another kind of Monopoly. Sometimes there is a Scarcity, or small Quantity; and the like is granted also.

'These, and divers of this Nature, have been in Tryal, both in the Common-Pleas, upon Actions of Trespass; where, if the Judges do find the Privilege good for the Common-Wealth, they will Allow it, otherwise Disallow it. And also, I know, That Her Majesty Her self, hath given command to her Attorney-General, to bring divers of them (since the Last Parliament) to Tryal in the Exchecquer. Since which, Fifteen or Sixteen, to my knowledge, have been Repealed: Some upon Her Majesty's own Express Command, upon Complaint made unto Her by Petition; and some by *Quo Warranto*, in the Exchecquer.

'But, Mr. Speaker, (said he, pointing to the Bill) This is no Stranger in this Place; but a Stranger in this Vestment. The Use hath been ever, by Petition to Humble our selves to Her Majesty, and by Petition to desire to have our Grievances redressed; especially, when the Remedy toucheth Her so nigh in Prerogative. All cannot be done at once; neither was it possible, since the Last Parliament, to repeal All. If Her Majesty makes a Patent, or a Monopoly, to any of Her Servants; That we must go and cry out against: But if She grants it to a Number of Burgesses, or Corporation, that must stand; and that, forsooth, is no Monopoly.

'I say, and I say again, That we ought not to deal or meddle with, or judge of Her Majesty's Prerogative. I wish every Man therefore, to be careful in this Point: And humbly pray this House, to testifie with me, That I have discharged my Duty, in respect of my Place, in speaking on Her Majesty's Behalf; and

do protest, I have delivered my conscience in saying what I have said.'

Doctor Bennet said: 'He that will go about to debate Her Majesty's Prerogative Royal, must walk warily. In respect of a Grievance out of that City for which I serve, I think my self bound to speak That now, which I had not intended to speak before: I mean, a Monopoly of Salt. It is an Old Proverb, *Sal sapit omnia:* Fire and Water are not more Necessary. But for other Monopolies of Cards, (At which word Sir Walter Rawleigh Blush'd) Dice, Starch, etc. they are, (because Monopolies) I must confess, very Hateful, though not so Hurtful. I know, there is a great Difference in them: And I think, if the Abuse in this Monopoly of Salt were Particularized, this would walk in the Fore-Rank.

'Now, seeing we are come to the Means of Redress, let us see it be so Mannerly and Handsomely handled, that after a Commitment, it may have good Passage.'

Mr. Laurence Hide said: 'I confess, Mr. Speaker, That I owe Duty to God, and Loyalty to my Prince. And for the Bill it self, I Made it; and, I think, I Understand it: And far be it from this Heart of mine to Think, this Tongue to Speak, or this Hand to Write any Thing in Prejudice or Derogation of Her Majesty's Prerogative Royal, and the State. But because ye shall know this Course is no new Invention, but long since digested in the Dayes of our Fore-fathers, above Three Hundred Years ago; will offer to your Considerations one Precedent in the 50 Ed. 3. At which time, one John Peache was Arreigned at this Bar, for that he had obtained of the King a Monopoly for Sweet Wines: The Patent, after great Advice and Dispute, adjudged Voyd; and before his Face, in open Parliament, Cancell'd; because he had Exacted Three Shillings and Four Pence upon every Tun of wine: himself adjudged to Prison, until he had made Restitution of all that he ever had Received; and not to be Delivered, till after a Fine of Five Hundred Pounds paid to the King.

'This is a Precedent worthy Observation; but I dare not presume to say, worthy the Following. And, Mr. Speaker, as I think it no Derogation to the Omnipotency of God, to say, He can do ill; so I think it no Derogation to the Person or Majesty

of the Queen, to say so: Yet, because Two Eyes may see more than One, I humbly pray, That there may be a Commitment had of this Bill, lest some thing may be therein, which may prove the Bane and Overthrow thereof, at the Time of the Passing.'

Mr. Serjeant Harries said: 'Mr. Speaker, For ought I see, the House meaneth to have this Bill in the Nature of a Petition: It must then begin with more Humility. And truly, Sir, the Bill is Good of it self; but the Penning thereof, is somewhat out of Course.'

Mr. Mountague said: 'The Matter is Good and Honest; and I like this manner of Proceeding by Bill well enough, in this Matter. The Grievances are great; and I would only note but thus much unto you, That the Last Parliament we proceeded by way of Petition, which had no successful Effect.'

Mr. Francis Moore said: 'Mr. Speaker, I know the Queen's Prerogative is a Thing curious to be dealt withal; yet all Grievances are not comparcable [*sic*]. I cannot utter with my Tongue, or conceive with my Heart, the great Grievances that the Town and Country for which I serve, suffer by some of these Monopolies: It bringeth the General Profit into a Private Hand; and the End of all is Beggary and Bondage to the Subject. We have a Law for the true and Faithful Currying of Leather: There is a Patent that sets all at Liberty, notwithstanding the Statute. And to what purpose is it, to do anything by Act of Parliament, when the Queen will undo the same by Her Prerogative.

'Out of the Spirit of Humility, Mr. Speaker, I do speak it; There is no Act of Hers that hath been, or is, more Derogatory to Her own Majesty, or more Odious to the Subject, or more Dangerous to the Common Wealth, than the Granting of these Monopolies.'

Mr. Martin said: 'I speak for a Town that grieves and pines, and for a Country that groaneth under the Burthen of Monstrous and Unconscionable Substitutes, to the Monopolitans of Starch, Tynn, Fish, Cloth, Oyl, Vinegar, Salt, and I know not what; nay, What not?

'The Principal Commodities both of my Town and Country,

are ingrossed into the Hands of these Blood-Suckers of the Common-Wealth.

'If a Body, Mr. Speaker, being Let Blood, be left still Languishing without any Remedy, How can the Good Estate of that Body long remain? Such is the Estate of my Town and Country. The Traffick is taken away by Wars; the Inward and Private Commodities dare not be used, without Licence of those Monopolitans. If these Blood-suckers be still let alone, to suck up the best and principallest Commodities, which the Earth there hath given Us; What shall become of Us, from whom the Fruits of our own Soyl, and the Commodities of our own Labour, which with the Sweat of our Brows, (even up to the knees in Mire and Dirt), we have labour'd for, shall be taken from Us by Warrant of Supreme Authority, which the poor Subject dares not gainsay?'

Sir George Moore said: 'I make no Question, but that this Bill offereth Good Matter; and I do wish, that the Matter may in some other sort be Prosecuted, and the Bill Rejected. Many Grievances have been laid open, touching the Monopoly of Salt; but if you had added thereunto Peter, then you had hit the Grief aright, with which my Country is perplexed. There be Three Persons; Her Majesty, the Patentee, and the Subject: Her Majesty the Head, the Patentee the Hand, and the Subject the Foot. Now, here is our Case; the Head gives Power to the Hand, the Hand Oppresseth the Foot, the Foot Riseth against the Head.

'We know the Power of Her Majesty cannot be Restrained by any Act: Why therefore, should we thus Talk? Admit we should make the Statute with a *non Obstante;* yet the Queen may grant a Patent with a *non Obstante*, to cross this *non Obstante.*

'I think therefore, That it agreeth more with the Wisdom and Gravity of this House, to proceed with all Humbleness, rather by Petition, than Bill.'

Mr. Wingfeild said: 'I would but put the House in mind of the Proceedings we had in this Matter, the Last Parliament: In the End whereof, our Speaker moved Her Majesty by way of Petition, That the Grief touching these Monopolies might be Respected, and the Grievance coming of them might be Redressed.

Her Majesty answered by the Lord-Keeper: That She would take care of these Monopolies; and our Griefs should be Redressed: If not, She would give us free Liberty to Proceed, in making a Law the next Parliament.

'The Wound, Mr. Speaker, is still Bleeding; and we grieve under the Sore, and are without Remedy. It was my Hap, the Last Parliament, to Encounter with the word Prerogative: But as Then, so Now, I do it with all Humility; and wish all Happyness both unto It, and Her Majesty. I am indifferent, touching our Proceedings, whether by Bill or Petition; because that therein our Grievance may follow, whereby Her Majesty may specially understand them.'

Sir Walter Rawleigh said: 'I am urged to Speak, in two Respects; The one, because I find my self touched in Particular; the other, in that I take some Imputation and Slander to be offer'd unto Her Majesty: I mean, by the Gentleman that first mentioned Tynn (which was Mr. Martin): For That being one of the Principal Commodities of this Kingdom, and being in Cornwal, it hath ever (so long as there were any) belonged to the Dukes of Cornwal; and they had special Patents of Privilege. It hath pleased Her Majesty, freely to bestow on Me that Privilege, and that Patent, being word for word the very same the Duke's is. And because, by reason of my Office of Lord-Warden of the Stannaries, I can sufficiently inform this House of the State thereof, I will make bold to deliver it unto you.

'When the Tynn is taken out of the Mine, and Molten and Refined, then is every Piece containing a Hundred Weight sealed with the Duke's seal. And by reason of this Privilege (which I now have), he ever had the Refusal in Buying thereof, for the words of the Patent are, *Nisi nos emere voluimus*. Now I will tell you, That before the granting of my Patent whether Tynn were but at Seventeen Shillings, and so upward to Fifty Shillings a Hundred, yet the poor workman never had but Two Shillings a week, finding himself. But since my Patent, whosoever will work, be Tynn at what price soever, they have Four Shillings a week truly paid; there is no poor that will work there, but may, and have that Wages. Notwithstanding, if all

others may be Repealed, I will give my Consent as freely to the Cancelling of this, as any Member of this House.'

Sir Francis Hastings said, 'It is a special Honour to this Assembly, to give freedom of Speech to all; and howsoever some have been heretofore troubled, yet I Joy to see so great Reformation, that we may speak quietly and be heard peaceably; every man hath not a like Sense or Judgement, neither is every mans memory alike. I wish that if any Gentleman that speaks of this, or any other Subject as curious, shall let fall any word amiss or unpleasing, that it may be Attributed rather to earnestness, than want of Duty.'

This Speech proceeded in respect of Sir Walter Rawleigh's sharp Speech; as also of the great Silence after it.

Mr. Snigg wisht a Commitment to Devise a Course.

Sir Robert Wroth wished a Commitment, in which a Course might be devised, how Her Majesty might know our Special Griefs.

Mr. Downall said, 'As I would be no let, or over vehement in any thing, so I am not sottish or senceless of the common Grievances of the Common-Wealth.

'If we proceed by way of Petition, we can have no more gratious Answer, than we had the last Parliament to our Petitions. Since the Parliament, we have had no Reformation. And the Reason why I think no Reformation hath been had, is, because I never heard the Cries against Monopolies greater, and more vehement.'

Mr. Johnson said, 'Mr. Speaker, I will be very short; I say only thus much, I would we were all so happy, That Her Majesties Gratious Self had heard but the fifth part of that, that every one of us hath heard this day. I think verily in my Soul, and Conscience, we should not be more desirous in having these Monopolies called in, than She would be earnest therein her self.'

So it was put to the Question, When the Commitment should be? And agreed, to morrow in the afternoon, in this House.

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[Nov. 21.] *At the Commitment, in the Afternoon, touching Monopolies.*

'Sir Edward Stanhop informed the House of the great Abuse by the Patentee for Salt in his Country; that betwixt Michaelmas and Saint Andrews tide, where Salt was wont, before the Patent, to be sold for Sixteen pence a Bushel, it is now sold for Fourteen and Fifteen shillings a Bushel; but after the Lord President had understood thereof, he Committed the Patentee, who caused it to be sold as before. This Patent was granted to Sir Thomas Wilks, and after to one Smith. To Lynn there is every year brought at least Three Thousand weight of Salt: and every weight, since this Patent, is inhanced Twenty shillings; and where the Bushel was wont to be Eight pence, it is now Sixteen pence. And, I dare boldly say it, if this Patent were called in, there might well be Three Thousand Pounds a year saved in the Ports of Lynn, Boston, and Hull. I speak this of white Salt.'

Mr. Francis Bacon said: 'The Bill is very injurious, and ridiculous: Injurious, in that it taketh, or rather sweepeth away her Majesties Prerogative; and Ridiculous, in that there is a Proviso, That this Statute shall not extend to Grants made to Corporations. That is a gull to sweeten the Bill withall, it is only to make Fools Fond. All men of the Law know, that a Bill which is only Expository to Expound the Common-Law doth Enact nothing, neither is any Proviso good therein. And therefore the Statute of 34 Hen. 8 of Wills, (which is but an Act expository of the Statute of 32 Hen. 8 of Wills) touching Sir John Bonfords Will, was adjudged void. Therefore I think the Bill unfit, and our proceedings to be by Petition.'

Mr. Solicitor Fleming said: 'I will briefly give you an account of all things touching these Monopolies: Her Majesty, in her provident care, gave Charge to Mr. Atturney and my self, That speedy and special course may be taken for these Patents. This was in the beginning of Hillary-Term last. But you all know the danger of that time, and what great Affairs of importance happen'd to prevent that business. Since that, nothing could be done therein for want of Leisure.'

Sir Robert Wroth said: 'I would but Note, Mr. Solicitor, That you were charged to take Care in Hillary-Term last. Why not before? There was time enough ever since the last Parliament; I speak it, and I speak it boldly, These Patentees are worse than ever they were. And I have heard a Gentleman affirm in this House, That there is a Clause of Reversion in these Patents. If so, what needed this stir, by *Quo warranto*, and I know not what? when it is but to send for the Patents, and cause a redelivery.

'There have been diverse Patents granted since the last Parliament; these are now in being, viz.: The Patents for Currants, Iron, Powder, Cards, Hornes, Oxe Shin-bones, Traine Oyle, Lists of Cloath, Ashes, Bottles, Glasses, Baggs, Shreds of Gloves, Aniseed, Vinegar, Sea-Coales, Steele, Aqua-vitæ, Brushes, Pots, Salt, Salt-Petre, Lead, Accedence, Oyle, Transportation of Leather, Callamint-stone; Oyle of Blubber, Fumothoes, or dried Pilchers in the smoak, and divers others.'

Upon Reading of the Patents aforesaid, Mr. Hackwell of Lincolns Inn stood up, and asked this, Is not Bread there? Bread, quoth another? This voice seems strange, quoth a third: no, quoth Mr. Hackwell, but if order be not taken for these, Bread will be there, before the next Parliament.

Mr. Townshend of Lincolns Inn (the Collector of this Journal), seeing the disagreement of the Committees, and that they could agree upon nothing, made a Motion to this effect: 'First, to put them in mind of a Petition made the last Parliament, which though it took no effect, we should much wrong her Majesty, and forget our selves, if we should think to speed no better in the like Case now; because there was a Commitment for this purpose, and the Committees drew a Speech, which was deliver'd by the Speaker word for word at the end of the Parliament. But now, we might hope, that by the sending of our Speaker, presently after such a Committee, and Speech made, with humble Suit, not only to Repeal all Monopolies Grievous to the Subject; but also, that it would please Her Majesty to give us leave to make an Act, that they might be of no more force, validity or Effect, than they are at the Common Law, without the strength of her Prerogative: which though we

might now do, and the Act being so reasonable, we did assure our selves Her Majesty would not deny the passing thereof; yet we her Majesties Loyal and Loving Subjects would not offer without Her Privity or Consent, (the Cause so nearly touching her Prerogative) or go about the doing of any such Act. And also, that at the Committee, which should make this Speech, every Member of this House, which either found Himself, his Town, or Country grieved, might put in, in fair Writeing, such Exceptions and Monopolies as he would justify to be true. And that the Speaker might deliver them with his own hand, because many hinderances might happen.'

Mr. Francis Bacon, after a long Speech, Concludeth thus in the end: 'Why you have the readiest course that could be possibly devised, I would wish no further Order to be taken, but to Prefer the Wise and Discreet Speech made by the young Gentleman, even the youngest in the Assembly, that last spake; I'le tell you, That even *ex ore Infantium et lactantium*, the true and most certain Course is propounded unto us.'

So the House parted, and agreed to meet on Monday in the afternoon.

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[Monday, Nov. 23.] There was a Gentleman that sat by me, which shewed me a Paper, in which was contained the Discommodity of divers Patents, called Monopolies. First, of Steel, where it hath been sold to Mr. Rowland Heyward in London, in former times, for Twenty Pounds, Ten Shillings the Barrel; it is now sold for Nineteen Pounds. Besides, it is mixt, and worse than the Steel in former times; and where it hath been but at Two Pence Half-Penny the Pound, before the Patent, it is now at Five Pence the Pound. And where Two Thousand Poor people were maintained, by working of Steel, and Edge-Tooles, and might well live by Working thereof at Two Pence Half-Penny the Pound, they are now not able, by reason of the Price thereof, to work; but now many go a Begging, because the Faggot hath also less Weight, to the utter undoing of all Edge-Toole-Makers.

Of Starch: Where other Countries have heretofore spent their Corn and Fuel in making of it, and we had it then at Eighteen

Shillings a Hundred Weight, and Her Majesty Received great Custom thereby; now do we spend Corn and Fuel extraordinary in making thereof, which might well be spared, and it is now at Fifty and Fifty Six Shillings a Hundred; and her Majesty hath great loss of her Customes, by making it within the Realm.

Playing Cards: Every Subject that would, before the Patent, might make them, which was a great help to those that were brought up in the Trade. And where in former times they were sold at Twenty Pence a Dozen, now they are at Three Shillings and Three Shillings Two Pence the Dozen. And before, every Subject might see what he bought, and make choice to his liking. Now they are Sealed, and no man can see what he Buyes. Besides, the Deputies and Substitutes of these Patentees will search Houses by force of Letters of Assistance of Lords of the Privy-Councel, under Colour of Cards being there. And if they find a pair or two, they will carry Men by some Pursuivant Fifty Miles or more; and threaten them by Imprisonment, if they will not Ransom themselves by a Ransom of Money.

Stone-Bottles, Pots, Heath-Brushes, are double and treble the Price they were at, before the Patent.

Glasses; where before they were had from beyond the Seas, and very cheap, with much Saving of Wood; they are now risen from Sixteen Pence to Five Shillings the Dozen, and from Three Shillings Four Pence to Nine Shillings, Besides the loss of Custome to Her Majesty, and expence of many Thousands of Billets, every Twenty Four Hours. This Patent is a great discouragement to the Masters of Ships, because the Substitutes of the Patentees will Imprison them until they will become bound to bring no Glasses from beyond the Sea. Besides, there is a continual spoile of Woods in Sussex, and else-where by Glassmaking.

Beere-Eager, Vinegar, Aqua-Vitae, be it never so bad, if the Patentee hath his Imposition, it passeth for good: The like for Sea-Coals, Salt, Ordnance, Tinn, Leather, and Wines. . . .

The Bill of Monopolies was read. . . .

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Mr. Secretary Cecil said: 'If there had not been some

Mistaking, or Confusion in the Committee, I would not have now spoken. The Question was, Of the most convenient Way to Reform these Grievances of Monopolies. But, after Disputation of that Labour, we have not Received the expected Fruit.

'If every Man should take Leave to Speak for the Common Subject, I am afraid, in these vast Powers of our Minds, we shall Dispute the Project and Reformation quite out of Doors.

'This Dispute draws Two great Things in question: First, The Prince's Power. Secondly, The Freedom of English-men. I am born an English-Man, and a Fellow-Member of this House; I would desire to Live no Day, in which I should Detract from Either.

'I am Servant to the Queen; and before I would speak, or give my consent to a Case that should debase Her Prerogative, or abridge it, I would wish my Tongue cut out of my Head. I am sure there were Law-Makers, before there were Laws.

'One Gentleman went about to possess Us with the Execution of the Law, in an Antient Record of 50 Edvardi 3. Likely enough to be True in that Time, when the King was afraid of the Subject. Though this Presence be a Substance, yet it is not the whole Substance of the Parliament; For in former Times, all Sate together; as well King, as Subjects: And then, it was no Prejudice to His Prerogative, to have such a Monopoly examined.

'If you stand upon Law, and dispute of the Prerogative, hark what Bracton saith; *Prerogativam nostram nemo audeat Disputare, etc.*

'For my own Part, I like not these Courses should be taken. And you, Mr. Speaker, should perform the Charge Her Majesty gave unto you at the Beginning of this Parliament, Not to receive Bills of this Nature. For Her Majesty's Ears be open to all our Grievances, and Her Hands stretched out to every Man's Petition.

'For the matter of Access, I like it well, so it be first moved, and the Way prepared. I had rather all the Patents were burnt, than Her Majesty should lose the Hearts of so many subjects, as is pretended She will.

'I will tell you what I think of these Monopolies; I take them

to be of Three Natures: Some of a Free Nature, and Good; some Void of themselves: some both Good, and Void.

'For the First; For the Prince to Dispense with Penal Laws: That is left to the Alteration of Sovereignty; I mean, Powerful and Irrevocable.

'For the Second: As to grant that which taketh from the Subject his Birth-right; and such men as desire such Patents, I count them misdoers, and wicked and wilful Offenders.

'For the Third: As the License for the matter of Cards, etc. And therefore, I think it very fit to have a New Commitment, to consider what Her Majesty may grant, and what not; And what Course we shall take, and upon what Points, etc.' . . .

Mr. Mountague said: 'Mr. Speaker, I am loth to Speak what I know, lest perhaps I should Displease. The Prerogative Royal is that which is now in question, and which the Laws of the Land have ever allowed and maintained. My motion then shall be but This: That we may be Suitors unto Her Majesty, That the Patentees shall have no other Remedies, than by the Laws of the Realm they may have; and that our Act may be drawn accordingly.'

Mr. Martin said: 'I think the Common Grievance, and the Queen's Prerogative, have so Inspired the Gentleman that last spake, (whom for Reverence sake, I must needs name, Mr. Mountague) to make that Motion he hath done. And because the House seems greatly to Applaud it, may it please you, Mr. Speaker, to put it to the Question, Whether that shall be Determined of, at the Committee.'

So it was again Committed to the Afternoon; and agreed, That as well That, as Mr. Secretary's Motion, should be Determined upon by the said Committee. . . .

At the Committee in the Afternoon, touching Monopolies.

A Gentleman shewed me a Note of certain Monopolies, and to whom Granted; viz.

1. To Sir Henry Nevill, the Patent for Ordnance.
2. To Simon Farmor, the Patent for Lists, Shreads, and Horns to be Transported.

3. To Henry Noell, the Patent for Stone-Pots and Bottles.
4. To Brian Ansley, the Patent for Steel.
5. To Elizabeth Matthews, the Patent of Oyl of Blubber.
6. To Richard Drake, the Patent for Aqua-Composita, and Aqua-Vitae.
7. To Michael Stanhopp, the Patent for Spanish-Wools.
8. To Thomas Cornwallis, a License to keep unlawful Games.
9. To Mr. Carr, a Patent for Brewing of Beer to be Transported.
10. To John Spillman, a Patent to make Paper.
11. To Edward Darcy, a Patent for Cards.
12. To Mr. John Packington, a Patent for Starch.
13. To Sir Walter Rawleigh, a Patent for Wines.

The Patent for Bottles was lately made void by Judgment in the Exchecquer.

Mr. Davies moved the House first: 'That he for his part, thought the Proceeding by Bill to be most Convenient; for the Precedent in the 50 Edvardi 3 warranteth the same: And therefore, let us do Generously and Bravely, like Parliament-Men; and our selves send for Them, and their Patents, and Cancel them before their Faces; Arreign them, as in times past, at the Bar, and send them to the Tower; there to remain, until they have made a good Fine to the Queen, and made some part of Restitution to some of the Poorest that have been oppressed by them.' And withal, Laughed.

Mr. Martin, after a long Speech made, touching these Monopolies, he thus concluded: 'And therefore, the Gentleman that last spake, spake most Honestly, Learnedly, and Stoutly. Yet thus much I must needs say, His Zeal hath masked his Reason; and that, I think, was the Cause of his fervent Motion; which I desire may be cooled with a Petition, in most dutiful manner, and Humblest Terms, most fitting to the Majesty of the Queen, and the Gravity of this House. So I doubt not, but our Actions will have prosperous, and successful Event.'

Mr. Secretary Cecil read a Paper of Three or Four Sheets openly, of all the Patents granted since 16 Reginae. And first he read, in the 17th. of the Queen, A Patent to Robert Sparke, to make Spangles, and Owes of Gold.

18 Reginae, A Patent to Sir Edward Dier, To Pardon, Dispense, and Release all Forfeitures and Abuses committed by Tanners, contrary to the Statute.

19 Reginae, A Patent to William Wade Esquire, et aliis, For the making of Sulphur, Brimstone, and Oyl.

A Patent to James Chambers, To give License for Tanning, contrary to the Statute.

30 Reginae, A Patent to Sir Walter Rawleigh, Of Tonnage and Poundage of Wines.

To John Ashley, et aliis, A Patent, For Benefit of Forfeiture of Buying of S——.

To William Watkins et aliis, A Patent, To Print Almanacks.

A Patent to ———, To Print David's Psalms.

A Patent to one Kirke et aliis, To take the Benefit of Sowing Flax and Hemp.

A Patent to Richard Welch, To Print the History of Cornelius Tacitus.

A Patent to ———, To Transport Iron and Tynn.

A Patent to John Norden, To Print *Speculum Brittaniae*.

A Patent to —— ——, To Print the Psalms of David, according to the Hebrew-Text.

A Patent to certain Merchants, To Traffick.

A Patent to Sir Jerom Bowes, to make Glasses.

A Patent to —— ——, To Provide and Transport Lists and Shreds.

Anno 35 Reginae, A Patent to Henry Noell, To make Stone-Pots, etc.

A License to William Aber, To Sow Six Hundred Acres of Ground with Oade.

A Patent to Mr. Heale, To provide Steel beyond the Seas.

A Patent to ———, To have One Shilling upon ever Hogshead of Pilchards.

A Patent to ———, To have the Benefit of Forfeiture by Gig-mills.

A Patent to Elizabeth Mathews, For Train-Oyl of Blubber.

A Patent to Richard Drake, For Aqua-Composita, Aqua-Vitae, Vinegar, and Alegar.

A Patent to Robert Alexander, For Aniseeds.

A Patent to Edward Darcy, For Steel.

A Patent to Michael Stanhop, For Spanish-Wools.

A Patent to Valentine Harris, To Sow Six Hundred Acres of Ground with Woade.

A Patent to ———, To take Benefit of the Statute for Gashing of Hides, etc.

A Patent to Mr. Cornwallis, For unlawful Games.

A Patent to Henry Singer, Touching Printing of School-Books.

A License to Arthur Bassaney, To Transport Six Thousand Calf-Skins.

A Patent to Edward Darcy, To Provide, Bring, Make, and Utter Cards.

A Patent to Thomas Morley, To Print Songs in Parts.

A Patent to Sir John Packeington, For Starch and Ashes.

A Patent to ———, To make Mathematical Instruments.

A Patent to ———, To make Salt-Peter.

A Patent to Thomas Wight, and Bonham Norton, To Print the Law-Books.

A Patent to —— ——, For Livers of Fishes.

A Patent to —— ——, For Polldavis, for Fishing.

After the Reading of which Note, nothing was Concluded upon; but a Meeting appointed on Tuesday in the Afternoon.

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[Tues., Nov. 24] . . . After some loud Confusion in the House, touching some Private Murmur concerning Monopolies;

Mr. Secretary Cecil said: 'The Duty I owe, and my Zeal to Extinguish Monopolies, makes me to Speak now, to satisfie their Opinions that think there shall be no Redress of these Monopolies.

'Order is Attended with these Two Hand-Maids, Gravity and Zeal; but Zeal with Discretion. I have been, though Unworthy, a Member of this House, in Six or Seven Parliaments; yet never did I see the House in so great Confusion.

'I believe, there was never, in any Parliament, a more tender Point handled, than the Liberty of the Subject, and the Prerogative Royal of the Prince: what an Indignity then is it to the Prince, and Injury to the Subject, that when any is Discussing

this Point, he should be Cryed and Coughed down? This is more fit for a Grammar-School, than a Parliament. I have been a Councellor of State these Twelve Years; yet never did I know it subject to Construction of Levity or Disorder: much more ought we to be, in so Great and Grave an Assembly. Why! we have had Speeches, and Speech upon Speech, without either Order or Discretion.

'One would have had us to proceed by Bill, and see if the Queen would have denyed it. Another, that the Patents should be brought here before Us, and Cancelled; and this were Bravely done. Others would have Us to proceed by way of Petition; which of Both doubtless is Best.

'But for the First, (and especially, for the Second) It is so Ridiculous, that I think, We should have had as bad Success, as the Devil himself would have wished in so good a Cause. Why! if Idle Courses had been followed, we should have gone (forsooth) to the Queen, with a Petition to have Repealed a Patent or Monopoly of Tobacco-Pipes [which Mr. Wingfield's Note had] and I know not how many Conceipts.

'But I wish every Man to rest satisfied, until the Committees have brought in their Resolutions, according to your Commandments.'

. . . . . .

[Wed., November 25] . . . Mr. Speaker, after a Silence (and every one marvailing why the Speaker stood up), spake to This Effect:

'It pleased Her Majesty to command me to attend upon Her Yesterday in the Afternoon: From whom I am to deliver unto you all Her Majesties most gratious Message, sent by my unworthy self.

'She yeildeth you all hearty thanks, for your care, and special regard of those things that concern Her State and Kingdom, and Consequently our selves; whose Good She hath alwayes tendred as Her own: For our speedy Resolution in making so hasty and free a Subsidy; which commonly succeeded and never went before our Councels.

'For our Loyalty, I will assure you, with such and so great Zeal of Affection She uttered, and shewed the same, that to

express it with our Tongues we are not able, neither our Hearts to conceive it. It pleased Her Majesty to say unto me, That if She had an Hundred Tongues, She could not express our hearty good Wills: And further, She said, That as She had ever held our Good most dear; so the last Day of ours, or Her Life, should Witness it. And that if the Least of Her Subjects were Grieved, and Her self not Touched, She appealed to the Throne of Almighty God, how careful She hath been, and will be, to defend Her People from all Oppression.

'She said, That partly by Intimation of Her Councel, and partly by divers Petitions that have been Delivered unto Her, both going to Chappel, and also Walking abroad, She understood, That divers Patents that She had granted were grievous unto Her Subjects, and that the Substitutes of the Patentees had used great Oppression. But, She said, She never assented to Grant any thing that was *Malum in se*. And if in the Abuse of Her Grant, there be any thing that is Evil, which She took Knowledge there was, She, Her self, would take present Order for Reformation thereof.

'I cannot Express unto you the apparent indignation of Her Majesty, towards these Abuses. She said, Her Kingly Prerogative was tender, and therefore desireth us not to speak or doubt of Her careful Reformation. For, She said, her Commandement given a little before the late Troubles (meaning the Earl of Essex's Matters) by the unfortunate event of them, was not so hindred, but that since that time, even in the midst of Her most weighty and great Occasions, She thought upon them. And that this should not Suffice, but that further Order should be taken presently, and not *In futuro* (For that also was a Word which, I take it, Her Majesty used); and that some should presently be Repealed, some Suspended, and not put in Execution, but such as should first have a Trial according to the Law, for the Good of Her People.

'Against the Abuses, Her Wrath was so Incensed, that, She said, She neither would, nor could, suffer such to escape with Impunity.

'So to my unspeakable Comfort, She hath made me the Messenger of this Her gratious thankfulness and care.

'Now we see, that the Axe of Her Princely Justice is put to the Root of the Tree. And so we see Her Gracious goodness hath prevented our Councels, and Consultations; for which God make us thankful, and send her long, and long to Reign amongst us.

'If through my own weakness of Memory, Want of Utterance, and Frailty of my self, I have omitted any thing of Her Majesties Commands, I do most humbly crave pardon for the same; And do beseech the Honourable Persons, which do assist this Chair, and were present before Her Majesty, at the Delivery hereof, to supply and help my Imperfections, which, joyned with my Fear, have caused me, no doubt, to forget something that I should have Delivered unto you.'

After a little Pause and Silence, the Councel talking one with another, Mr. Secretary Cecil stood up, and said:

'There needs no Supply of the Memory of the Speaker; but because he desires some that be about him to aid his Delivery, and because the rest of my Fellows be Silent; I will take upon me to Deliver something, which I both then heard and since know.

'I was present with the rest of my Fellow-Councellours, and the Message was the same, that hath been told you. And the cause hath not proceeded from any particular course thought upon, but upon private Information of some particular Persons. I have been very Inquisitive after them, and of the Cause, why more importunity was now used, than before; which I am afraid comes by being acquainted with some course of our Proceeding in this House.

'There are no Patents now of Force, which shall not presently be revoked; for what Patent soever is Granted, there shall be left, to the overthrow of that Patent, a Liberty agreeable to the Law. There is no Patent, but if it be *Malum in se*, the Queen was ill apprised in Her Grant; but all to the generality are unacceptable. I take it, there is no Patent whereof the Execution thereof hath [not] been Injurious; would that [they] had never been Granted. I hope there shall never be more.' (All the House said, Amen.)

'In particular, most of these Patents have been supported

with Letters of Assistance from Her Majesties Privy Councel; but whosoever look upon them, they shall find they carry no other Style than with Relation to the Patent. I dare assure you, that from hence-forth there shall be no more Granted; and how many soever have been already Granted, they shall all be revoked.

'But, to whom do they repair with these Letters? To some out-house, to some desolate Widow, to some simple Cottage, or poor ignorant People; who rather than they would be troubled, and undo themselves by coming up hither, they will give any thing in Reason for these Caterpillars Satisfaction. The Notice of this is now publick. And you will, perhaps, judge this to be a Tale to serve the Time. But I would have all Men know thus much, That it's no jesting with a Court of Parliament; neither dares any Man (for mine own part I dare not) so much abuse all the Subjects of this Kingdom, in a matter of this Consequence and Importance.

'I say therefore, there shall be a Proclamation general through the Realm, to notify Her Majesties Resolution in this behalf. And because you may Eat your Meats more Savourly than you have done, every Man shall have Salt as cheap as he can buy it, or make it, freely without danger of that Patent, which shall be peresently Revoked. The same Benefit shall they have which have cold Stomacks, both for Aqua-Vitae, and the like: And they which have weak Stomacks shall have Vinegar and Aleagar set at Liberty: Train-Oyl shall go the same way; Oyl of Blubber shall March in the same Rank: Brushes and Bottles indure the like Judgment. The Patent for Polldavis, if it be not called in, it shall be. Oade, which as I take it is not restrained either by Law or Statute, but only by Proclamation (I mean from the sowing thereof), though, for the saving thereof, it might receive good Disputation, yet for your Satisfaction, the Queen's Pleasure is, to revoke that Proclamation: Only She Prayeth thus much, That when She cometh in Progress to see you in the Country, She may not be driven out of your Towns, by suffering it to infect the Air too neer them. Those that desire to go Sprucely in their Ruffs may with less charge than Accustomed obtain their Wish; for Starch, which hath so much been Prosecuted,

shall now be Repealed. There are other Patents for new Drapery, which shall be suspended, and left to Law: Irish-Yarn, a Matter that I am sorry there is no cause of Complaint for; for the Savageness of the People, and the War, hath Frustrated the Hope of the Patentee, a Gentleman of good Service and Desert, a good Subject to Her Majesty, and a good Member of the Commonwealth (Mr. Carmarthen); notwithstanding, it shall be suspended and left to the Law. The Patent for Calf-Skins, and Pelts, shall indure the Censure of the Law.

'But I must tell you, There is no Reason that all should be Revoked; for the Queen means not to be swept out of Her Prerogative: I say it shall be suspended, if the Law doth not warrant it. There is another servant of her Majesties, (Mr. Anslow) one of Her Pensioners, an Honest Gentleman, and a Faithful Servant; he hath the Patent for Steel, which once Mr. Beal had; these, too, because of Complaints shall be suspended. There is another, that hath the Patent of Leather, Sir Edward Dier, a Gentleman of good Desert, Honest, Religious, and Wise. This was Granted unto him Thirty Years ago, it crept not in by the new Mis-government of the Time; yet this shall also be suspended. The Patent for Cards shall be suspended, and Tryed by Common-Law. The Patent for Glasses, which though I do least apprehend to be prejudicial to the Publick Good, yet it is to be left to the Law. There is another Patent for Salt-Petre, that hath been both Accused and Slandered: It digs in every Man's House; it removes the Inhabitant, and generally troubleth the Subject. For this, I beseech you, be Contented; yet I know, I am too blame to desire it, being Condemned by you *in foro Conscientiæ:* But I assure you, it shall be fully sifted, and tryed *in foro Judicii.* Her Majesty meaneth to take this Patent to Her self; and advise with Her Councel, concerning the same: For, I must tell you, The Kingdom is not so well furnished with Powder, as it should be. But, if it be thought fit (upon Advice) to be Cancelled, Her Majesty commanded me to tell you, That though She be willing to help the grave Gentleman that hath that Patent; yet out of the abundant Desire that She hath to give you compleat Satisfaction, it shall be Repealed.

'This hath come to the Ear of the Queen, and I have been

most Earnest to search for the Instrument; and as a Councellor of State, have done my best Endeavour to salve this Sore: But I fear, we are not secret amongst our selves. Then must I needs give you This, for a future Caution; That whatsoever is subject to a Public Exposition cannot be Good. Why, Parliament-Matters are ordinarily Talked of in the Streets. I have heard my self, being in my Coach, these Words spoken aloud: God prosper those that further the Overthrow of these monopolies! God send the Prerogative touch not our Liberty.

'I will not wrong any so much, as to imagine he was of this House; yet let me give you this Note, That the Time was never more apt to Disorder, or make Ill Interpretations of Good Meanings. I think those Persons would be glad that all Sovereignty were Converted into Popularity: We being here, are but the Popular Bouch, and our Liberty, the Liberty of the Subject; and the world is apt to slander, most especially the Ministers of Government.

'Thus much have I spoken, to accomplish my Duty, due unto Her Majesty; but not to make any further Performance of the well-utter'd and gravely and truly-deliver'd speech of the Speaker.'

9. PROCLAMATION AGAINST MONOPOLIES, 28 NOV., 1601.

[A Booke containing all such Proclamations as were published during the Raigne of the Late Queene Elizabeth, ed. H. Dyson (1618), ff. 388-89.]

A Proclamation for the reformation of many abuses and misdemeanours committed by Patentees of certaine Priuiledges and Licences, to the generall good of all her maiesties louing Subiects.

Whereas her most excellent Maiestie hauing granted diuers Priuiledges, and Licences, (vpon many suggestions made vnto her Highnesse, that the same should tend to the common good and profit of her Subiects) hath since the time of those Grants received diuers Informations of sundry grievances lighting vpon many of the poorer sort of her people (by force thereof) contrary to her Maiesties expectation, at the time of those Grants: All

which being duely examined, by such as her Maiestie hath directed to consider, and report the state of such complaints as haue bene made in that behalfe, It doth appeare that some of the said Grants were not only made vpon false and vntrue suggestions contained in her Letters Patents, but haue beene also notoriously abused, to the great losse and grievance of her louing Subiects, (whose publike good shee tendereth more then any worldly riches:) And whereas also vpon like false suggestions, there haue beene obtained of the Lordes of her Highnesse priuie Counsell, diuers Letters of assistance, for the due execution of diuers of the said Graunts, according to her Highnesse gracious intention and meaning: Forasmuch as her most excellent Maiestie (whose care and providence neuer ceaseth to preserue her people in continuall peace and plenty) doth discerne that these particular Graunts ensuing, namely, of or in any wise concerning Salt, Salt vpon Salt, Vineger, Aqua vitæ, or Aqua composita, or any liquor concerning the same, Salting and packing of fish, Trayne Oyle, Blubbers or Livors of fish, Poldavyes, and Mildernixe, Pots, Brushes, and Bottels, and Starch, haue beene found in consequence so farre differing from those mayne groundes and reasons, which haue beene mentioned in the Graunts, and haue also in the execution of the said Letters Patents bene extremely abused, contrary to her Highnesse intention and meaning therein expressed: She is now pleased of her meere Grace and fauour to all her louing Subiects, and by her Regall power and authoritie, to publish and declare (by vertue hereof) all the said Graunts aboue mentioned, and every clause, article and sentence (in the Letters Patents thereof contained) to be void. And doth further expresly charge and command all the said Patentees, and all and euery person and persons, claiming by, from or vnder them, or any of them, that they or any of them doe not at any time hereafter presume or attempt to put in ure [*sic*] or execution any thing therein contained, vpon paine of her Highnesse indignation, and to bee punished as contemners and breakers of her royall and princely Commandement.

And whereas her Maiestie hath also granted diuers other Priuiledges and Licences, some for the better furnishing of the Realme with such warlike prouisions as are necessary for the

defence thereof (as namely that concerning Saltpeter) and some of other kindes to particular persons, which haue susteined losses and hinderances by seruice at Sea, and Land, or such as haue bene her Maiesties ancient domestical Seruitors, or for some other like considerations, as namely, New Draperie, Irish Yarne, Calves Skins, Pelts, Cards, Glasses, Searching and Sealing of Leather, and Steele, and such like; In which Graunts also her Highnesse hath beene credibly informed, that there hath beene abuse in the execution of them, to the hurt and prediudice of her louing Subiects (whereof she meaneth also that due punishment shall follow vpon such as shall bee found to haue particularly offended): Her Maiestie doeth by these presents likewise publish, notifie and declare her gracious will and pleasure to bee, That all and euery her Highnesse louing Subiects, that at any time hereafter shall finde themselues grieued, iniured or wronged by reason of any of the said Graunts, or any clause, Article or sentence therein conteined, may bee at his or their Libertie to take their ordinary remedy by her Highnesse Lawes of this Realme, any matter or thing in any of the said Grants to the contrary notwithstanding. And forasmuch as her Maiestie (with the aduise of her priuie Counsell) is now resolued that no Letters from henceforth shall be written from them to assist these Grants, seeing they have serued for pretexts to those that haue had them, to terrifie and oppresse her people (meerely contrary to the purpose and meaning of the same): Her Maiestie doth straitly charge and command, that no Letters of Assistance that haue bene granted by her Counsell for execution of those Grants shall at any time hereafter be put in execution, or any of her louing Subiects be therby inforced to do or performe anything therin contained. And that no Pursuiuant, Messenger of her Highnesse Chamber, or other officer whatsoeuer doe at any time hereafter presume or attempt anything against any of her louing Subiects, by pretext or colour of any such Letters of assistance, for execution or putting in ure of any of those aforesaid Graunts, or any thing therein contained. And as her Maiestie doth greatly commend the duety and obedience that her louing Subiects haue yeelded in conforming themselues to the said Graunts, being vnder the great Seale of England: So her Maiestie doth notifie

and signifie by these presents, That if any of her Subiects shall seditiously, or contemptuously, presume to call in question the power or validitie of her prerogatiue Royall annexed to her imperiall Crowne, in such causes, all such persons so offending shall receiue seuere punishment, according to their demerits.

And whereas she hath also bene informed, that diuers of her Subiects are desirous to be set at libertie for the sowing of Woad, restrained by a Proclamation in the fortieth and two yeere of her reigne, at which time it was thought by many men of good experience, that such restraint would be a meane to preuent sundry inconueniences: forasmuch as her Maiestie had neuer other purpose by that restraint, then to doe that which might be for the greatest and most generall benefite of her Subiectes; Her Highnesse is also pleased (and so she doeth) by this Proclamation set at liberty all such persons as shall thinke it for their good, to imploy their grounds to the vse of sowing of Woad, notwithstanding any such prohibition in any former Proclamation. Prouided alwayes, that it shall not be lawful for any person or persons whatsoeuer to conuert any ground that shall be within three miles of the Citie of London, or neere any of her Maiesties houses of accesse, nor so neere to any other great Citie or Towne corporate, whereby any offence may grow by the noysome savour of the same. Giuen at our Palace at Westminster the 28 day of Nouember, in the fourtieth and foure yeere of her Maiesties most prosperous raigne.

God saue the Queene.

SECTION VII.—VAGRANCY AND POOR RELIEF.

1. TYPICAL LEGACIES FOR THE RELIEF OF THE POOR, 1488-1570.

[The first six extracts from Testamenta Eboracensia (Surtees Soc., 1868), Vol. IV., pp. 40, 156, 160, 170, 201-2, 208. The last three from John Stow, A Survey of London, ed. C. L. Kingsford (1908), Vol. I., pp. 111, 114, 116.]

[Edmund Mauleverer, esquire, of Arncliffe, 1488] Volo quod vj *s.* viij *d.* in perpetuum distribuantur pauperculis in meis domibus elemosinariis apud Bramham de tenementis meis in Thornor, ad sustentationem duorum lectorum in eisdem domibus in sempiternum, et pro focali; ad intentionem quod iidem pauperculi hospitabuntur, senes decrepitos, fessos, infirmos, debiles, et claudos, et alios bonae conversationis pauperculos hospitio carentes, pro una nocte, vel ultra si infirmi vel fatigati fuerint; non vero inhonestos vel malae conversationis vagabundos hospitabuntur.

[William Worsley, Dean of St. Paul's and Canon of York 1499] I will that the day of my beriall be delt to poore people in money iij *li.* vj *s.* viij *d.* . . . I will that the said tyme myn obite be yerly kepte in the chirch of Poules, and every day of my seid obite be delt to poore people xx *s.*

[William Burton, Vicar of Wighill 1499] I bequeth xxvj *s.* viij *d.* to remane and abide in the vicar hand of Wighall *imperpetuum*, to ease the poore folke with of the parishing in ther myster for to pay ther fermes with, so that the said people sett not ther goodes at waynworth; and they to have a day resonable to pay the seid silver ayen dewly and trewly to the vicare being the tyme; and the said vicar to aske it and kepe ayen to the same intent, as he will answer for at the dredfull

day of jugement bettwix God and the dewill; and not to len the forseid money to no taxe nor talage, ne to no common use of the town, but to the said poore men.

[John Sothill of Dewsbury, 1498] I will that ye give for my saull vj quarters of rye to the porest pepill in these vj perish, a quarter in Dewsbery perish, a quarter in Mirfeld perish, a quarter in Batlay perish, a quarter in Wodkirke parish, a quarter in Berwik perish, a quarter in Brestall parish; prayng all the[m] hertely to forgife me ther as I have at any tyme trespas to any of them. . . . Also I will that ye deall for my saull the day of my beriall 1 *d.* to 1 pore men and women, ther present.

[Dame Joan Chamberleyn of York, 1502.] To the exhibicion of Marten Andrewson (at) scole x *s.* I wyll that Richard Diotson, ydiott, be fonden of my goodes as longe as he levith. . . . To every persone in the castell or in other prisons within the cetie of Yorke j *d.*, and to every leper house beyng in the subbarbes of the said cetie, to every person, j *d.* I wit to my executores my place in Hundgate, which place I wyll the[y] sell; and the money for the said to be disposid for the wele of my saule; that is to say to the exhibicion of pure chylder apte to lerne at scoles, pore maydens well disposyd to mariages, and to wayes or briges, brokon or hurte to the neuance or niuertie of Cryston people, amendynge and reparinge.

[Elizabeth Swinburne, generosa, 1502] Lego xiij pauperibus tres messes ciborum cum pane et servisia, cum carnibus bovinis coctis, et carnibus ovinis assatis, in die sepulturae meae.

Henrie Keble, Grocer, Maior [of London], 1511, . . . gaue to high wayes, 200 pound, to poore maides marriages, 100 Markes, to poore husband men in Oxford and Warwickshires, 140 Ploughshares and 140 Cultars of iron, and in London to seuen almes men, sixpence the week for euer.

Sir Thomas Roe, Marchant Taylor, Mayor [of London], 1568, gaue to the Marchant Taylors lands or Tenements, out of them to bee giuen to ten poore men Clothworkers, Carpentars, Tilars, Plasterers, and Armorers, 40 *li.* yearely, viz. 4 *li.* to each, also 100 *li.* to bee lent to 8 poore men.

Margaret Danne, widdow to William Danne, Ironmonger, one of the Sheriffes of London, 1570, gaue by his [*sic*] Testament to

the Ironmongers 2000 pound, to bee lent to young men of that Company, paying after the rate of v *li.* the yeare for euerie hundred, which C *li.* so rising yearely, to be imployed on charitable actions, as she then appointed, but not performed in more then 30 yeares after.

2. 'AN ACTE AGAYNST VACABOUNDS AND BEGGERS' (11 HENRY VII., C. 2), 1495.

[Stats. of the Realm, Vol. II., p. 569.]

I. For asmoche as the Kyngis grace moost entierly desireth amonges all erthly thingis the prosperite and restfulnes of this his land and his subgettis of the same to leve quietly and surefully to the plesure of God and according to his lawes, willing and alweiss of his pitie intending to reduce theym therunto by softer meanes then by such extreme rigour therfor proveied in a Statute[1] made in the tyme of King Richard the second, considering also the great charges that shuld growe to his subgettis for bringing of vagabondes to the Gaoles according to the same Statute and the long abiding of theym therin, wherby for likelehede many of theym shuld lose their lives, In modring [moderating] of the seid estatute his highnes wull by thauctorite of this present parliament it be ordeyned and enacted, that where suche mysdoers shuld be by examinacion commytted to the comen gaole ther to remayne as is aforseid, that the Shiref Maires Baillifs High Constables and Pety Constables and all other Governors and Officers of Citees Burghes Townes Townshipps Villages and other placis, within iij daies after this acte proclamed, make due serch, and take or cause to be taken all suche vagaboundes idell and suspecte persones lyvyng suspeciously, and theym so taken to sette in stokkes, ther to remayne by the space of iij daies and iij nyghtes and ther to have noon other sustenaunce but brede and water; and after the seid iij daies and iij nyghtes to be had oute and set at large and then to be commaunded to avoide the Towen; And if eftsones he be taken in suche defaute in the same Town or Township then he to be sette in the like wise in Stokkis by the space of vj daies with

[1] 7 Richard II., c. 5.

like diete as is before reherced; and if eny persone or persones geve eny other mete or drinke to the seid mysdoers being in stokkes in fourme aforseid, or the same prisoners favour in their mysdoyng, that then they forfeite for every tyme so doing xij *d.*

II. And also it is ordeyned by the seid auctorite that all maner of beggers not able to worke, within vj wekis next after proclamacion made of this acte, goe rest and abide in his hundred where he last dwelled, or ther where he is best knowen or born, ther to remayne or abide without begging out of the said Hundred, upon payne to be punyshed as is beforeseid, And that no man be excused by that he is a Clerke of on Unyversite or of other, without he shewe the letters of the Chaunceller of the Unyversite from whens he seeth he commyth, nor none other calling himself a Souldeour Shipman or travelyngman without he bringe a letter from his Captayn or from the Town where he landed, and that he then to be commaunded to go the steight high wey into his Country.

. . . . . .

3. TOWN CHARITIES AT BRISTOL, 1534-97.

[Ricart's Kalendar, ed. L. Toulmin Smith (Camden Soc., 1872), pp. 53, 61-63.]

This yere [1534] M. Maire and Cominaltie of this Towne of Bristowe haue received of Emanuel Lucar, Executor of the testament and last will of Robert Thorne, late of London, merchauntailor, decessid, ccccc *li.* sterling to thentent to socour yong men which ar full mynded to make cloth within the same Towne, according to the said testament and last will. Thordynance wherof appereth in the Boke of Ordenaunces in the tyme of the said Maire the xxij day of January, Anno r[egni] r[egis] H[enrici] viii. xxv^to^; whiche ccccc *li.* were devided accordingly, and seuerall obligacions therof made and delyuerede vnto Gilbert Cogan, Chambrelayn of the same Towne, for the due execution of the Testament and will aboue mentioned.

This yeere [1586] there was provided by Thomas Aldworth, alderman, and James Cullimore of London, haberdasher, v shippes laden with corne out of Lyne and Boston, with

wheate, rye, malte, and barley, to the valew of 2,600 *li.* worth, and brought to the Cittie of Bristoll at the chardge of the saied Thomas and James, and did relive Wales vp Seavorne, and the country about vs, to the great comfort of all the people. . . .

This yeere [1590] aboute iij weekes in lent, there was presented in the house a patente from her maiestie as concerneinge a hospitall to be erected by the name of Queene Eliz. Hospitall, yssueinge oute of John Carres landes.[1] Which said Hospitall was the same yeer, by the greate dilligence and charitable endevour of the said William Birde [Maior], founded at the Gauntz, and xij poore children placed therein for a beginninge of the sayd goode worke, to the which the sayd William Birde was a bountifull benefactor and gave therevnto 530 *li.* in money for the advancement thereof.

This yeere [1594] Thomas Aldworth, alderman, did buy to the use of the commones of this Cittie, from Christmas till Mychellmas followinge, 1,200 *li.* worth of wheate and rye, and did bringe and caused to be brought into the markett euery markett daie a quantitie, and thother daies did serve the Commons of the cittie, to the greate good of the whole comunaltie of the cittie, as by accompt maye be seene.

This yeere [1596] all manner of Corne was deere, and Mr. John Whitsune of the Citty of Bristoll, merchant, did buy of Mr. Thomas Offeley of London, merchant, 3000 quarters of Dansk rye for the prouision of this Cittie, whiche rye ariued here in the moneth of July, and was presently sould, and there was clearely gained thereby seauen hundred pounds, a great part whereof was spent in procuring An Act of Parliament for Ophants [Orphans] causes, Mr. George Snigg, Recorder, and Mr. Alderman Ellis beinge then Burgeises of the Parliament for this Cittie; and the resedue of the money remained to the Mayor and Commonaltie.

This yeare [1597] likewise all manner of graine was very deere, and the Executor of Mr. Robert Kitchin, Alderman, gaue weekly 100 marks for the relief of the poore in diuers parishes.

[1] John Carre, Merchant of Bristol, died in 1586, and left lands for building 'an Hospitall in the Cittie for the bringing vp of poore fatherlesse children.'

. . . This yeare all the men of habilities within this Citty were injoyned to give one meale of meate to poore people euery day, viz. some 8, some 6, some 4, and some 2, accordinge to their habilitie.

4. THE DUKE OF NORFOLK TO CROMWELL ON VAGABONDS AND MONASTERIES, 1537.

[Yorkshire Monasteries Suppression Papers, ed. J. W. Clay (Yorkshire Arch. Soc., Rec. Ser., Vol. XLVIII., 1912), p. 48.]

2 June 1537. My veray goode Lorde . . . forasmoche as I do nowe wryght to the Kinges maiestie I shall not molest you with nothing conteyned in my lettre sent to his highnes. And where I do understand his maiestie hath now sent lettres to thiese parties concernyng vacabonds, your good lordship shall perceyve by copies of lettres which I have a good tyme past sent to all the justice of pease and religiouse houses in thies parties, that I haue not neglected that matier; surely I neuer sawe so many as be in thiese cuntrees. And the almes that they haue in religious houses is the great occasion therof, and also the slackenes of the Justice of pease, for not doying ther dewties. I haue and shall so order thiese cuntrees under my rewle that I thinke ye shall shortely here of no small nomber of them that shall drawe Southewards. My lord, the sooner that Mr. Pollard do come into thies parties the better, for therby the Kinges charges shalbe the soner releved; the house of Jerueaulx was moche in debte, but the movables woll fully discharge that, and in likewise at bridlington, with a better peny. And surely if ye sende downe plommers hither, both to take downe the ledde of the houses and to cast the same in sowes, with one trewe over seer of them, it woll acquite the cost. And thus our lord haue you in his blessed tuytion.

From Shrifhoton the ij^{de} daye of June.

(*Addressed :—*) To my veray good lorde my Lord Pryvey Seale.

(*Endorsed :—*) My lorde of Norffolk to my lord Pryvey Seale.

Item Themperors lettres to the Duke of Norfolk.

Item the copyes of my lord of Norffolks lettres for the punishment of vagabunds.

5. JOHN BAYKER TO HENRY VIII. ON ONE CAUSE OF POVERTY, *c.* 1538.

[From S.P. Henry VIII., Vol. CXLI., ff. 134-35, printed in F. Aydelotte, Elizabethan Rogues and Vagabonds (Oxford Hist. and Lit. Studies, 1913), App., pp. 145-47.]

For as myche as youre grace att all tyms haythe beyne redy to tayke intollerabyll payns not only for the settynge forthe off gods honor, but allso for the common and publyq weall off youre Reallm, I can do no lesse wythe dyschayrge off my contyens towarde god and my obedyence observyd, wyche by the commandement off gode I ow vnto youre pryncly maiesty, but I muste neydes opeyn and dysclosse syche thyngs as I thowght dyshonerous vnto your grace and tedyus and discomfortaybyll vnto the commonweall off your peopll; yett lesse that I shoullde be tedyus or trobylsome vnto youre grace or hyndrance off youre moste godly stydys, I have drawne forthe and wrytyn heyre the thyng, that at syche tyme as your grace shall thynke convenyent ye may loke apon yt: fyrst wer that youre moste gratyus nobyll and exelent maiesty haythe ordynyd and set forthe many tyms god and holsome statutes and lawes for the condynge punyshment off all vagabonds and valyent beggers, that ys to say that none of thaym shall ryne from towne to towne or place to place withoute a lawfull lysynys or cause, but that they and all syche shall be taykyne and after your moste gratyus lawes to be punysshyd, yett never the lesse I cannot perceave but the multytude of thayme dothe dayly encreace more and more: for werre that your grace and your grace hys predycesers haythe gyvyn and put forthe in fye farm lordshype to your rewlers and gentylmen of your Realme, wome your grace puts in tryst to the entent that they shoulde hayde and defend youre pure subiects and commons in all ryght and iustyce; but alass I thynke you[r] pure friends had never more

neyd to complayne vnto youre grace in any matter then they have in this, wyche, yff yt pleasse your grace to perdon me your subiect, I shall shortly shew.

Now werapon that I am so bold to trobyll or dysquyet your grace hys maieste, your grace shall vnderstand that I am a powre Artyfycer or craftesman, wyche haythe travyled and gone thorowe the most payrt of your Reallme to gett and erne my lyvynge. I have beyne in the most payrte off the cytys and greyt townes in england; I have allso gone thorowe many lytyll townes and vylygys: but alasse yt dyd pety my hert, to se in evyry place so many monyments wer that howsess and habytatyons hayth beyne and nowe nothynge but bayr walls standynge. Wyche thyng me thynk is very dyshonerous vnto your hyghynys, and not that only but by the occatyon theroff mycbe inconvenience doth encreasse amenge your peopll: yt causythe men to lye by the hye way syde and thayre one to robe, and vnto another yt causythe allso myche morder and fornycatyon to be wythe in your Reallme; for yf so wer that every man myght have in townes and vylagys but one lythyll howsse or cotage to inhabyt and but a lytyl garden grownde wythe all, thay wolde so order yt wythe thayr labor that thay wolde erne thayr lyvynge: so showlde thayr no place be untylde nor wythe oute inhabyters, so that in townes or vylagys thay shoulde be allway in a reydynes att your grace hys call and comandement.

Now yf yt please your grace to haerre wat ys the cawse off syche decay and ruyne wythe in your Reallme, your grace shall vnderstande that in evyry place wer that your gratyus maiesty hathe gyvyn in fey farme and Lordsshype to any gentyllman or syche as be your grace hys fye farmers, that beynge your grace hys fye farmers showlde lett thayme agayne vnto your powre subiects to inhabyt and tyll, that they payinge thayre rent trewly to thayr landeslordys myghte have a suffytyent and compleyte lyvynge by thayr labor; but alass, how far be thes fey farmers or rewlers wyde in thys poynte, for yf so be that any of thes fye farmers have eny tenement or farme in thayr hands, yf a power man come vnto one of thayme desyrynge hym to be good vnto hym in thys tenement or farm, that he myght have yt to inhabyt, payinge the rent for yt as yt hathe

beyne before tyme, he answeres and saythe: yf that thow wylt have thys tenement of me thow must pay me so myche mony at thy commynge in for a fyne; so that he rasythe that thynge, wyche never was at no fyne before, to a greyt some of mony, and the rent to be payd yerly besyde; the power [man] then, seynge thayr ys no remedy but other to have yt or to be destytute of an habytatyon, sells all that he haythe from wyffe and chyldryn to pay the fyne theroff. Then the landes lorde, persavynge the howsse in decay, wyl not repayr yt tenendhabyll, althoff the tenende payd never so myche for his fyne, so that the tenande comyth to a decayd thynge; then the landes lorde, perceavyng that the howsse ys redy to fall downe, dothe call the tenand into the court, And thayr commands hym to beyllde vp hys howse ayenst a certayn day, in payne of forfeytyinge a certayne sume of mony; then the power man, because he payd so greyt a some of mony for the fyne of yt, ys not abyll to beylde yt vp so shertlye; then the seconde tyme ys he callyd in agayne to the courte, and thayr commandyd in payne off forfeytynge hys tenement to byellde yt, so that the power man, beynge not abyll to repayr yt, dothe forfet yt agayne vnto the lorde; then because yt ys so far in decay and the fyne so greyt wythe all, no man ys desyrous to tayke yt, so that the howsse commythe downe shortlye after; yet saythe the landes lorde: the landes shall rayse me as myche rent as they dyd before wen the howsse was styndynge. O good lorde, how myche dothe thes men regayrde more thayr owne peculyer and proper vantage then your grace hys honor, or havynge respect wer that your peopll showlde inhabyt, that so lats your grac hys habytatyons decay; ys yt not as ryght that they showlde forfet vnto your grace, w[h]o ys lorde and governer over all, as the pour tenands vnto thayme? you[r] grace may se how herde herttyd they be vnto thayr tenands [that] thay raythe let fall then beylde: ys yt not a petyfull cays to come in to a lytyll vylage or towne, wer that thayre haythe beyne twentye or thyrty howses, and now are halfe off thayme nothynge but bayre walls standing? ys yt not a petyfull cays to se one man have yt in hys hands wyche dyd suffyse ij or iij men wen the habytatyons were standynge? No dowte thys thynge ys the cause of myche [in]convenience wythe in your reallm.

I thynke thayr were never moo peoplle and fewer habytatyons, wyche thynge I wolde wysshe and desyer that your grace wolde se a reformatyon in; but in as myche that I have taykyn hande to dysquiet your gratyus maiesty as concernynge thys complaynt, I wold desyer your moste gratyus pardon, and that your grace wold accept the love and zeylle that I have to your hyghnys and to your most gratyus hayr and prince, that I wolde not se that hys grace showlde enter into a decayd lande.

By your poure and faythfull subiect Ihon bayker, in the cownte of Wylshier and the lordship of Castyll cowme.

[*Superscribed*] Iohn Baykers Devyse to redresse a comonwealth.

6. THE FIRST COMPULSORY POOR RATE IN LONDON, 1547.

[Guildhall Journal, Vol. XV., f. 325 b.]

Commune Consilium tentum die Iovis in festo Sancti Michaelis Archangeli anno regni regis Edwardi sexti primo.

For Asmoche as the order Lately Deuysed and taken by the Lorde Maire and Aldermen for the Releiff, mayntenaunce and fyndyng of the poore, Sick and indigent persones Apoynted to be founde and kepte within the house and hospytall Lately erectyd and founded by the moste noble prynce of famous memorye King Henry the eight, As well at the costes and charges of the Citezeins and inhabitantes of this Citie as of the proffitz and Reuenues of Such Londes and tenementes as his highnesse indowyd the same house withall, by the Deuocyon and Charitable Almes of the people wekely to be gatheryd within the parisshe churches of the said Citie Dothe not take eny good Successe or Semblans of good contynuance, Yt ys therfore for Remedye and Supportacion therof this Daye by the lorde maire, Aldermen and commens in this present Commen Councell assemblyd and by auctoritie of the same Ordeyned, enactyd, grauntyd and establysshed that the Citezeins and inhabitantes of the said Citie Shall Furthwith Contrybute and paye towardes the Sustentacyon, maynteynyng and fyndyng of the said poore personages by the space of one hole yere now next ensuyng the

xv. concessa in relevacionem et sustentacionem pauperum, etc.

moitie or half deale of one hole fiftene, And that the said wekely colleccyon of the Deuocyon of the people for that entent and purpose shall from henceforthe vtterly Ceasse and be Discharged. Provyded Alweys that all suche money as hytherto hathe byn by ony maner of person Collected or gatheryd for that entent or purpose Shalbe well and truly Delyueryd and payd over to the gouernours of the said house. And yt ys also enacted and Agreyd by the said Auctoritie that yt shalbe liefull for all and euery the petye collectours of the said Moytie or half deale of the said xv^{ne} to distrayne all and euery persone and persones that shall Refuse or denye to Content and paye all Suche Summe and Summes of Money as he or they Shalbe assessed at towardes the Said Payment.

7. THE CITIZENS OF LONDON TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL ON THEIR SUIT TO THE KING FOR BRIDEWELL, 1552.

[Thomas Bowen, Extracts from the Records and Court Books of Bridewell Hospital (1798), Appendix, pp. 2-6.]

The Declaration of the humble Suit made to the King's Majesty's most honourable Council, by the Citizens of London, A.D. 1552.

That it hath pleased your honors of your accustomed benignity, to move the king's majesty in our humble suit for his highness's house of Bridewell, we do most heartily thank you for the same; not doubting but even as God hath called you to honor, even so will he preserve and continue you to his honor and the profit of the common wealth, which now by such as we intend to provide for is greatly grieved and impaired.

And to the intent it may fully appear to your honors (according as you have willed) what moved us to this enterprize; to what end we sue for the king's highness's house of Bridewell; how the same shall be used; on what ground and stock our matters shall be erected; who shall be the governors therof; how they shall be elected; what ordinary officers shall be there; and how the same house may have continuance and not be converted to any other use; we have thought it our bounden duty not only

to answer and satisfy your honors by writing, but also have assigned certain citizens who have and daily do travail in this work, to give their attendance upon your said honors, as well for the soliciting of our said suit, as also to know the king's majesty's determinate pleasure therein.

And first, may it please your honors to understand, that it was too evident to all men that beggary and thievery did abound. And we remembering how many statutes from time to time have been made for the redress of the same, and little amendment hath hitherto followed, thought to search the cause hereof, and after due examination had, we evidently perceived that the cause of all this misery and beggary was idleness: and the mean and remedy to cure the same must be by its contrary, which is labour. And it hath been a speech used of all men, to say unto the idle, work! work! even as though they would have said, the mean to reform beggary is to fall to work.

And we considered also that the greatest number of beggars fallen into misery by lewd and evil service, by wars, by sickness, or other adverse fortune, have so utterly lost their credit, that though they would shew themselves willing to labour, yet are they so suspected and feared of all men, that few or none dare, or will receive them to work: wherefore we saw that there could be no mean to amend this miserable sort, but by making some general provision of work, wherewith the *willing* poor may be exercised; and whereby the froward, strong, and sturdy vagabond may be compelled to live profitably to the commonwealth.

And before we proceeded to the doing of any thing herein, we considered who they were that we should relieve, and how they might be relieved. And among the whole rout of needy and miserable persons, we espied three sundry sorts which were diversly to be provided for; the succourless poor child, the sick and impotent, the sturdy vagabond, or idle person.

And first, we thought to begin with the poor child, that he might be harboured, clothed, fed, taught, and virtuously trained up, which thing we have (God be praised) already begun.

Next we thought to take up out of the streets the miserable aged, sore and sick persons (which also we have done) and

the same to harbour, and by physic and surgery to cure and make whole.

Now resteth for the third sort, an house of occupations, to be erected; wherein as well the child, when he is brought up and grown to years, and found unapt to learning, neither any honest person desireth or would have his service, may there be exercised and occupied; as also the sore and sick when they be cured; who shall not be suffered to wander as vagabonds in the commonwealth, as they have been accustomed, but shall there be exercised. And unto this shall be brought the sturdy and idle: and likewise such prisoners as are quit at the sessions, that there they may be set to labour. And for that the number will be great, the place where they shall be exercised must also be great. And this, being (as it were) the perfection of our whole former travail, is yet undone, and moveth us now to sue for the king's majesty's house of Bridewell; for that the situation and largeness thereof seemeth most meet and convenient for this purpose, if it shall please the king's most excellent majesty, of his great clemency and goodness, to grant that it may be employed to the said use.

The use of this house.

In this house shall be erected sundry occupations, wherein shall be trained all the former sorts of people, and those occupations shall be such as may be profitable to all the king's majesty's subjects, and hurtful to none: as the making of caps, which shall be made as good, as well dressed and died, and more substantial than any are made in France; and yet shall be afforded at as low a price, or lower, than the French caps are; for there shall scarcely so much gain or profit be taken of their labours, as shall countervail their charges and expences. Also the weaker sort of people, that is to say, such as are lame of legs, and whole of hands, shall be occupied in making of feather-bed ticks, wool-cards, drawing of wire, spinning, carding, knitting, and winding of silk, and other profitable devices: and the stubborn, and fouler sort, shall be exercised in making of nails and other iron-work; even such sorts as are not made within any part of this realm.

On what ground, or stock, these occupations shall be founded.

Such hath been, (most honorable lords) and we doubt not but it will increase, the charity of the good citizens, who have given no small sum of money to the furnishing of the two houses already erected; that is to say, of Christ's hospital, which is the house of the fatherless, and of the hospital in Southwark, which is the house of the sore, sick and impotent, (besides £500 that the citizens bear yearly to the succour and sustentation of the poor creatures of Christ, kept in the hospital of St. Bartholomew) that we doubt nothing of the matter wherewith the *third* house, being the most needful and necessary, shall be furnished.

But yet, somewhat to satisfy your honors, the foundation shall be this. Certain godly and honest citizens will deliver matter in stock, whereof the idle shall be set on work; as wool, yarn, flax, wire, leather, etc. And when the same shall be wrought, to receive the same wrought wares in satisfaction of the stock, allowing for the workmanship thereof; and always as the wares are wrought to renew the stock. And thus shall there never lack matter whereon the idle shall be occupied.

Of the governors.

Those to whom the whole charge and government shall be committed, as well of this house of occupations, as also of the other hospitals, are thirty in number; whereof six are aldermen, and two of the same six shall always be elected of those that have been mayors of the city: and twenty-four citizens of London, who shall be named and elected of the whole city. And the one half, as well of the aldermen as of the commoners, shall yearly be removed, and as many others elected for them; so that the eldest shall remain but two years. Nothing shall be given, paid, nor ordered, but six at least of the said governors shall first give their consent thereunto, and two of the six shall be aldermen. The fees and profits that these governors shall have shall be such as almighty God hath promised to them that travail in relieving of his needy members, and none other.

Among these governors, one of the worshipful, and wisest

personage, and credible, shall be treasurer for one year, and no more. And he to have the charge, as well of the sums of money that are to be received and paid, as also of such stock and wares, as in the said house shall be wrought and unwrought, and to account for the same; and to have for his labour and pains as is before recited, and none other.

Ordinary officers.

The ordinary officers in this house shall be certain men, to whom a convenient stipend shall be given, who shall be called taskmasters and taskmistresses; these shall be such honest persons as are expert in such sciences and occupations as there shall be exercised; and they shall take the charge of every man's task and proportion of work that shall be daily limited and appointed for them to do: and these shall have power to correct and punish such as are under their task, if they loiter and be found negligent.

There shall also be persons elected (once of the number of poor artificers such as have led an honest life, and of upright dealing) who shall put in surety to the treasurer for such stock of wares and stuff as shall be delivered unto them to be made and wrought.

There shall also be other ordinary officers, as porters, cooks, stewards, &c. to whom likewise shall be given convenient stipends.

The continuance.

For the continuance of this house we are not able to undertake, when nothing in this uncertain and changeable world can be permanent; but, we trust, that the same God who so opened the hearts of a great number of good men to impart liberally of their substance, before they saw any certain proceeding in this godly work, the same God will open the hearts of godly men to provide for the continuance of it, being now brought to some effect. And thus are we persuaded, that so long as the world shall continue, God will bless and endue this realm with godly governors, who will be careful to preserve the same from ruin and decay. And during also the continuance of the world, some

(yea, we may well fear, too many) will fall to folly and idleness. The present remedy to reform their idle life shall be always the house of labour and occupations; therefore, during the continuance of the world, will godly governors and magistrates preserve and maintain the house of occupations. And, doubtless, whensoever the same doth decay, then shall beggary be restored to his old state. The travail and exercise hereof shall be also found both so necessary for the care and comfort, as well of the poor decayed householder, as of the beggar, and shall be so commodious and profitable to the realm, that it cannot perish, but must of necessity have continuance.

And this we promise your honors, that we will faithfully travail for the furniture of the said house with implements, instruments, tools, and sufficient stuff to work upon, only for God's sake and for the relief of the miserable poor and needy, and for none other lucre, gain, or profit: and that under the pain and forfeiture (which we are loth to incur), that is, under the pain and forfeiture of God his gracious favor and mercy; and under the pain and forfeiture of the said house with all the appurtenances unto the king's majesty's hands; and of all the great costs and charges which we then shall have bestowed upon the same. And if it shall seem unto the king's majesty that so princely an house is not meet to be converted to the harbouring of so evil and miserable a sort of people as of force ever must harbour; that then it may please your honors, to be a mean for us unto his highness for the house and lands of the Savoy.

Thus have we shortly declared to your honors our meaning herein; most humbly beseeching the same that we may not only have your furtherance in this, but also your further aid and assistance towards the king's majesty in providing and establishing such things and ordinances as are requisite for the better perfecting and continuance of this foundation, (whereof we beseech his highness to be the patron, as a perpetual memory of his godly zeal to the commonwealth, in abandoning idleness and relieving the poor), as shall hereafter be thought necessary. And we shall, according to our bounden duty, pray for the long continuance of your honours.

8. BISHOP RIDLEY TO CECIL ON THE SAME SUBJECT, 1552.

[G. Ridley, The Life of Dr. Nicholas Ridley, sometime Bishop of London (1743), p. 377.]

Good Mr. Cecil. I must be a suitor unto you in our good Master Christ's cause; I beseech you be good to him. The matter is, Sir, alass! he hath lain too long abroad (as you do know) without lodging in the streets of London, both hungry, naked and cold. Now, thanks be to Almighty God! the citizens are willing to refresh him, and to give him both meat, drink, cloathing and firing: but alass! Sir, they lack lodging for him. For in some one house I dare say they are fain to lodge three families under one roof. Sir, there is a wide, large, empty house of the King's Majesty's, called Bridewell, that would wonderfully well serve to lodge Christ in, if he might find such good friends in the court to procure in his cause. Surely I have such a good opinion of the King's Majesty, that if Christ had such faithful and hearty friends who would heartily speak for him, he should undoubtedly speed at the King's Majesty's hands. Sir, I have promised my brethren the citizens to move you, because I do take you for one that feareth God, and would that Christ should lie no more abroad in the streets.

9. A WOUNDED SOLDIER EXAMINED BEFORE THE MAYOR'S COURT AT NORWICH ON HIS BEGGING, 1561.

[Records of the City of Norwich, ed. Hudson and Tingey, Vol. II. (1910), p. 180.]

[Court on Wednesday, 31 Dec. 1561] Edmonde Abbott beyng examined this daye of the order of his beggyng sayeth that yt was in maner as followeth—

I desyre your mastershipp tobe good and fryndly to a poore man that hathe ben hurte and mayned in the Quenes affayers, mayned in my arme as your mastershipp maye wel perceyve.

Alacke good fellowe that ys greate pyttie, how cam yt to passe?

I was hurte with a pece of ordynaunce yf yt maye please your mastershipp.

Where ded you serve when that you wer hurte?

I served in one of the Quenes Gallys callyd *Spedewell* and was hurte beyng on the narrowe sease.

How long ys yt syns you wer hurte?

I was hurte at Whitsontyde was twelvemonth.

Who was then Capteyne of that Galley?

Capitan Holden was Capitan of that Galley.

In what conflycte were you hurte?

I was hurte betwyn Porchemouth and the Yle of Wight beyng metchyd and coupled with one of the Frenche Kinges shippes.

10. REGULATIONS FOR THE RELIEF OF THE POOR AT NORWICH, 1570.

[Records of the City of Norwich, ed. Hudson and Tingey, Vol. II., pp. 339-58.]

(1) *The census of the poor in the small ward of St. Stephen*, 1570.

Theis be the names of the poore within the saide Citie as they ware vewed in the year of our Lord god 1570. In the tyme of M^r^ John Alldereche Maior.

The Parishe of St. Stevenes—

Robert Rowe of the age of 46 yeres, glasier, in no worke, and Elizabeth his wyfe that spinne white warpe and have five children, 2 sonnes the eldist of the age of 16 yeres that kepe children, and the other, daughters that spinne, and have dwelt here ever.—*In Thomas Masons house, no alums, indifferent.*

Agnes Nicholes, wydowe, of the age of 40 yeres that sowe, and have dwelt here ever.—*In Thomas Brounes house, no alums, indifferent.*

John Hubburd, of the age of 38 yeres, butcher, that occupie slaughterie, and Margarit his wyfe of the age of 30 yeres that sell souce, and 2 young children, and have dwelt here ever.—*No alums, veri pore.*

Richard Gugle, of the age of 30 yeres, glasier, that worke not, and Dorithie his wyfe of the same age, that spinne white warpe, having a yung childe and have dwelt here alwaies.—*In his owne house, indifferent.*

An Bucke of the age of 46 yeres, wydowe, souster and teatcheth children, and hath two children, the one of the age of 9 yeres and the other of 5 yeres that worke lace, and have dwelt here ever.—*No allums, but verie poore.*

Margarit Turner, wydowe, of the age of 50 yeres that spinne and help others, and have dwelt here 22 yeres.—*In Robert Carters house, no allums, indifferent. . . .*

William Carter of the age of 22 yeres, diseased of a sore legge and is without comfort and have dwelt here ever.—*No allums but verie pore.*

Thomas Pele of the age of 50 yeres, a cobler in worke, and Margarit his wyfe of the same age that spinne white warpe, and have 3 children, the elldist of the age of 16 yeres that spinne, and the other of the age of 12 and of 6 yeres that go to scoole, and have dwelt here 9 yeres and came from Yorkeshere.—*In the parish house, no allums but verie pore. . . .*

Edmund Harman of the age of 38 yeres, lace wever, and Tamizin his wyfe of the age of 37 yeres that spinne white warpe, havinge five children, the elldist of the age of 10 yeres, and 2 of them spinne, and the rest be yunge and have dwelt here ever.—*No allums but verie pore. . . .*

John Tastes of the age of 40 yeres, cordiner that worke not, and Alice his wyfe of the same age that sowe, having 2 sonnes, the one of the age of 11 yeres, the other of the age of 8 yeres whiche bothe goo to scoole, and have dwelt here ever.—*In M^ris^ Brounes house, no alums, indifferent.*

Alixander Fulborne of the age of 40 yeres, taylor in no worke, and Agnes his wyfe of the same age that knitt and helpe others, having two doughters, the eldist of the age of 17 yeres that spinne, and the other of the age of 12 yeres that spinne allsoo, the eldist is lame, and have dwelt here ever.—*In M^r^ Grenes house, ij^a^ a weke, veri pore.*

John Petingale of the age of 40 yeres, laborer not in worke, and Agnes his wyfe of the same age that do knitt and helpe

others, and have three children, the eldist of the age of 9 yeres that goo to scoole, and have dwelt here 7 yeres.—*In Mr Grenes house, ijd a weke, verie pore.*

Michaell Maste of the age of 26 yeres, blacksmith out of worke, and Suzan his wyfe of that age, verie sicke and have dwelt here ever.—*In Collinsonns house, no alums, verie pore.*

Agnes Warner of the age of 60 yeres, wydowe, that sowe and have a childe verie yunge and have dwelt here 30 yeres.—*In the parish house, ijd. a weke, veri pore.*

John Brigit of the age of 30 yeres, carpenter, and Margarit his wyfe of the same age, great with childe, that soweth, and have dwelt here 2 yeres.—*In Collisons house, no alums, verie poore.* . . .

Helen Hanworthe of the age of 40 yeres, never married, that spinne and carde and have dwelt here ever, havinge a sore legge. —*In Bemonds house, no alums, verie poore.*

Nicholas Fox of the age of 40 yeres, lininge wever that occupieth not. And Agnes his wyfe of the age of 50 yeres that spinne white warpe, and have three children, the elldist of the age of 8 yeres that goo to scoole, and have dwelt here twentie yeres.—*In Wallias house, ijd. a weke, verie pore.* . . .

John Burr of the age of 54 yeres, glasier, verie sicke and worke not, and Alice his wyfe of the age of 40 yeres that spinne, and have 7 children, the eldist of the age of 20 yeres, the other of 12 yeres, the other of 10 yeres, the other of 8 yeres, the other of 6 yeres, and the other of 4 yeres and the other of the age of 2 yeres that canne spinne woole, and have dwelt here ever.—*In his owne house, no allums, indifferent.*

John Findley of the age of 82 yeres, cowper not in worke, and Jone his wyfe sicklie that spinne and knitt, and have dwelt here ever.—*In the churtch house, iiijd. a weke, verie pore.* . . .

Edmond Todd of the age of 44 yeres, darnix wever in worke, and Alice his wyfe of the age 42 yeres that spinne white warpe, havinge three children, the eldist of the age of 13 yeres, the other of 10 yeres, the other of 6 yeres, and the eldist doughter spinne, and have dwelt here ever.—*In Mathew Harmans house, ijd. a weke, verie pore.*

Roger Steevenson, of the age of 52 yeres, capper, but now make pattonnes, and Jone his wyfe of the same age that spinne

and carde, havinge 4 children, the eldist of the age of 12 yeres, the other of the age of 6 yeres, the other of 4 yeres, and the other of 3 yeres, and have dwelt here 30 yeres and more.—*In Pipes house, no alums, indifferent.*

Katherin Downinge of the age of 60 yeres, never maried, that spinne white warpe; and Cristian Collard of the age of 40 yeres, that knitt, and have dwelt here alwayes.—*In M^r Mingeis house, no allums but verie pore.*

Cicela Clare of the age of 60 yeres, wydowe, that knitt, and have dwelt here ever.—*iij^d. a weke, verie pore.* . . .

[Eighteen other entries.]

. . . . . .

(2) *The orders for the poor.* 1571.

This booke and orders made within the Cittye of Norwiche had manye occasions moved therunto for the better provision of the poore, the ponishement of vacabondes, the settinge on worke of loyterers and other idle parsons, thexpulcinge of stronge beggers, the mayntayninge the indigente and nedie, and the practizinge of youthe to be trayned in worke, in learninge and in the feare of God, so as no parson shoulde have neede to goe abegginge nor be suffred to begge within the seyde cittye. Whiche orders begonne are ratefyed in open assembly to be putte in practize within the seyde cittye, from the Feaste of St John the Baptiste [24 June] 1571, in the tyme of master John Aldriche, Maiour, and lyke by Godes grace to contynue to the greate pleasure of all mightye God, and the proffytte and woorshippe of this cyttie uppon the occasions hereafter ensuenge, viz.

Fyrste, for that dyverse of the cittizens felte themselves agreeved that the cittie was so replenysshed with greate nombres, poore people bothe men, women and chyldren, to the nombre of ij^m and ccc parsons whoe for the most parte wente dayely abroade from dore to dore counterfeattinge a kinde of worke but indeede dyd verie lyttle or none at all.

And for that they were soffred and nourished at everie mans dore withoute inqueriinge from wheare they came, they encreased to suche noombre as the strangers beggars (onelye) surcharged the cittie above cc poundes by yere.

Moreover those that daielie wente abowt pretendinge to satisfye their hunger, were not onelye contented to take at mens doores that suffized them, but being overgorged they caste foorthe the reste into the streete, so that they might be followed by the sight therof in pottage, breade, meate, and drinke which they spoiled verie voluptuouslye.

Agayne, these crewes in their contynuall beggynge respected no worke to prepare them lodginge, but used churche porshes, mens seller[s], doores, barnes and haye chambers, and other back corners to bestowe themselves, and suche as had howses did not worke for lodginge other then that they laye upon the colde grownde. So cared they not for apparrell, though the colde strooke so deepe into them, that what with diseases and wante of shyftenge their Fleshe was eaton with vermyne and corrupte diseases grewe upon them so faste and so grevouslye as they were paste remedye, and so much charges (by this meanes) bestowed upon one that wold have suffized a great sorte came all to waste and consummacion, nott with standinge their churche gatheringe (some tyme twoo or thre in a daye) so greved the inhabitantes that theye ernestly called for reformacion, aludinge [alleging] the comon colleccion, the charges at their doores to be verie excessive.

More over, for wante of brewers and lookers abowt, the victualling houses were stuffed with players and dronkerdes that so tended the drynke all daye that they could not enclyne to woorke. And in ther pottes they abused the holy name of God with swearenge, pratinge and lyenge to the gret offence of all mightye God, the distruccion of them selves and the comon welth, defiled ther bodies with filthines that the ofte ponnishinge their vices so occupied the maiestrates as the chief matters of the comon wealthe was fayne to be delayede, that other wayes had moste nede of precedinge, althoughe dyves skaped unponnisshed.

These and suche lyke cawses often complayned of, after greate delyberat consultacion had by the Maiour, Shreves, Aldermen and Comen Cownsell was selected twoo Aldermen and twoo comoners to viewe a booke of orders sett downe and to the sembly preferred, who agenst another assembly perfyghted it and presented it in maner followenge :

The preamble to the orders for the pore.

Wher as nott with stondinge with greate diligence and care aswell by estatutes made to ponishe vagaboundes and disordered persons as also to make colleccions to susteyne the indigente and needye which hath bene putte in practize (in the same cittie) to the comforte of a greate nombre in hope to suffize that neede :

Yet by reason foolyshe pittie movinge manye to make provision at their doores (hopinge to doe good) the same hath bredd such resorte as nott with standinge the provision aforeseyde yt hath made the greattest nombre to leave their workes to attende suche aulmes as therbye they have atchived to suche ydlenesse and have founde it (as they thynke) more profitable to them then to doe anye woorke at all. Wherbie not onelye them selves are noseled therin, but also their younge chyldren have had their chiefe bringinge up therin that for wante of exercize of bodye and shyfte of apparrell bothe the olde and the yonge falle (by extreeme povertye) into suche incurable diseases and filthines of bodye as one so corrupteth another that the charge to heale them is verie greate.

Besydes the same are suche cloakes to retayninge strangers, beggars (lyke them selves), into their houses which they ofte take in unto them to helpe the dyscharge of their howsse rente, as (by their disorder) the maiestrates of the cittie are so trowbled with searchinge and correctinge them that the chiefe cawses of comon wealthe is fayne to give place eyther to be talked of or reformed.

All whiche (withoute reformacion) in fewe yeeris a greate parte of the revenues of the cittye wyll skarse suffyze to mayteyne them.

Which seene and considered and from tyme to tyme complained of to have bene reformed, even for wante of good wyll to putte good lawes and ordinaunces in execution nothinge have bene done, tyll now of late they be growen to the fulle that withoute speedye remedye the reformacon wyll be paste helpe.

Wherfor at an assemblye holden the thred daye of Maye 1571 John Aldriche, then Maiour, and Thomas Gleane and Robert

Goslynge, Shreeves, upon motion made ther by the sed Maiour was graunted for and to the reformation hereof, that the monye wekelye in the citie collected for the poore througheowte the citie shall be dowbled. And then and ther by vertue of the seide assemblye was appointed Mr. Thomas Beamonde, Alderman, Master Symonde Bowde, Alderman, John Sotherton Junior, and John Brierton, whiche Fower persons have drawne a booke of orders to the ende that the monye so graunted may be converted to the reformation of the evilles aboveseide as hereafter ensewethe, viz.

None to begge in payne of vi stripes.

Fyrst, that no parson or parsons olde or yonge shalbe suffred to go abrode after a generall warninge gyven, or be founde abeggynge in the stretes, at the sermon or at anie mans dore, or at anie place within the Citie, in payne of sixe stripes with a whippe.

None to sustayne anie beggars at ther dores in paine of the statutes.

Nor that anie parson or parsons shall sustayne or fede anye such beggers at their dores, in payne of such fyne as is appoynted by estatute and further to paye for everi tyme fower pence, to be collected by the deacons, and to go to the use of the poore within the seide Citie.

A working place at the Normans for men and women.

Item, that at the house called the Normans in the convenient-este place therfor, shall be appointed a workinge place, as well for men as for women, viz. for the men to be prepard serteyne mawlte quernes to grinde mawlte and suche excersises. And for the women to spinne and carde and such lyke exersises.

Twelve parsons to be set a worke and of ther kepinge and continuance.

Which workinge place shall contayne to sett twelve parsons or more upon worke, which parsons shall be kepte as presonars to worke for meate and drinke for the space of twentie and one dayes at the leaste, and longer yf cawse serve, and they shall not eate but as they can earne (excepte som frende wyll be bownde for them), that the Citie shall nomore be trowbled with them, with this proviso, that such parsons as shallbe thether comytted

shall be suche as be hable to worke and daielie notwithstandinge wyll not worke but rather begge, or be withowte master or husbonde, or ellis be vacabowndes or loyterers.

The howers to worke both wynter and somer.

Whiche parsons shall begynne their woorkes at fyve of the clok in sommer viz. from ower Ladie the annunciacion [25 March] untyll Mykellmes, and shall ende ther workes at eight of the cloke at nighte, and in wynter to begyn at sixe of the cloke from Mikellmes to ower Ladie, and to ende ate seven of the cloke at nighte or halfe an hower past, with the alowaunce of one halfe hower or more to eate and a quarter of an hower to spende in prayer.

Those sent to Bridwel to be by warrente. Ponishment for those that will not worke.

And everye one sent thether shall be by warrante from the Maior or his deputie or deputies to the bailie ther, upon which warrante the balie shall be bownde to receive every one so sente and see them sett a woorke. And those that shall refuse to do their workes to them appointed or kepe their howers, to be ponissed by the whipp at the discrecion of the wardens or balie of the house.

The Maior to be master of Bridwel. Fower aldermen to be commissioners over the fower great wardes.

Item, yt is further orderid that the maior shall be entiteled Governour (or heade master) of Bridwell; And also that ther be appoynted by assemblye every yere fower aldermen, they to be named comitties or comissioners for the viewe of the state of the poore throwghowte the whole citie. One to take the charge of both Conesforthes [and] Bearestrete, another St. Stevens, St. Peters and St. Gyles, the thred the whole warde of Wymer, and the fowrth the otherside of the water, and everie one to go throwghe his warde.

The comissioners to apointe al officers.

And theise to appoynte all offycers aswell partaynynge to everi warde as to the house of Bridwell, viz. the Balie of Bridwell, the Deacons of wardes, the selecte women, surveiors and all other offycers eniewaye to the poore appartayninge, as unto their discresions shall seme. And the same to presente to

master Maior to be confirmed in their offyces for that yer the fyrst cowrte daye after the new Maiors charge.

Officers to hold and do ther offyce or ellis to be fyned by the Maior and most of his bretherne.

And those officers so confirmed shall holde their offyces untyll by the comyssioners they shall be disalowed, and yf they shall fayle to take upon them ther offyce or shall not do ther indeaver for one yere to take paynes in all thinges that unto them do appartayne, that then they shall be fyned by the Maior and the more parte of his bretherne as unto ther dyscrecions shall appartayne, so ofte as everi one shall be fownde remisse therein.

The aucthorite of the comissioners from master Maior.

And yt is further orderid that the seyde comitties shall have aucthorite from master Maior, as well in Bridwell as in everi warde, and upon everie parson unto ani offyce to the poore appartayninge, or for anye that payeth or levieth monye to that use, to alowe and disalowe, comaunde, correcte, refourme, place and displace, or to do anie thinge or thinges, which they do in master Maiors name, allwayes reserved they and ther deputes to be the doers.

The comissioners to do ther office, or ellis to be fined.

Provided allwayes that the seid comitties, Alldermen so chosen, shall as everie other offycer, do theyr offyce for that yer, and shall take accoumpte of all monye receyved and paide to the use of the poore, and se that the wardens have moni to discharge all reparacions and other charges ther to be done; and upon their defaulte thei to be fined by the discrecon of master Maior and the more parte of his bretherne, lokinge for no geyne or advantage therfor, and shall make ther accowmptes accordinge to the statute unto master Maiour or others by hym appoynted.

Twoo wardens to be appointed for Bridwell and of ther charge.

Item, upon the seid aucthorite be also appoynted twoo mete men to be wardens of Bridewell, and they to be such hable men as can and shall awnswer the charge, aswel of monie, lynninge, beddinge, utencels of howsholde, instrwmentes to worke withe, cattel, specialties, and ellis whatso ever therunto belongethe, and to furnishe thinges therto nedefull, viz. bedding, pewter,

brasse, treane vessell, ironworke, wasshine bowls, twbbes, cardes, whelis and suchelyke, and shall kepe a regester therof, as also of all legaces, gyftes and bequestes gyven to the poore. The same to remayne from yere to yere.

What wode, cole, butter and chese thei shall laye in and take accoumpte of the balye.

And to laye in or cawse to be laied in every yere Fyve hunndreth woode, twoo lodes of charcole, three lodes of seacole, twoo barrelles ot butter, and twoo weys of chese, which theie shall provide at the beste cheape. And they to take of the balie the accowmpte therof quaterlye, to the ende to save that stoke to prepare woolle and other stwffe to be wrowghte ther (or of the children at the Hospitall).

To repaire the houses. Of their aucthorite.

Also to see the howses repayred and all maner of correccions ther to be done; and to receyve and paye for one whole yere. And they to have awcthorite to controll everie offycer of the same howse excepte the aldermen comitties.

The wardens to accompte to the Awditors etc. One of them to remaine warden twoo yeris. The day of the eleccon.

And Further they shall yealde to the comon Awditors of the citie yearlie their accowmpte of all receipts, paiementes and remayners of all thinges. And everi yere one to be chosen to the olde warden, the same to remayne for twoo yeris, and either of them to have for their paynes everie yere Fortie shillinges a pece. The same eleccon to be made on the daye of St. John the Baptiste [24 June] from yere to yere. Provided allwaies that yf the seid feaste fall upon the Sondaye the same eleccon to be done the daye after. . . .

[Here follow orders 'For the Balie of Bridwell' and 'For twelve children to be browt up in S^{t} Gyles Hospitall,' and 'For children and others in Wardes.' These are followed by 'Orders for the Deacons,' under the following headings:

1. 'Deacons in everi ward to be apoynted to haue the oversight of the poore of their warde.'

2. 'To have the names of the poor of the warde that have not remained three yeris to be sente awaye. To search onis in a moneth in paine of three shillinges and fourpence.'

3. 'Who thei shall certifie to the comitties. [Those] that can worke not to ronne abowght.'

4. '[Those] that will not worke to be placed with the selecte women. To certifie the names of disordered parsons.'

5. 'To certifie the nomber of children not hable to be sustayned of them.'

6. 'To certifie the nombre of bigge wenches and boyes to go to servis. Each that begge to be ponished.'

7. 'To certifie vagabondes etc to be ponished.'

8. 'All moni or other thinges gyven to be done by the deacons.'

9. '[Those] that refuse to do ther duetye to forfet fortie shillinges. One to continue for twoo yearis.'

10. 'The pore to receive the somes wekely apointed.'

11. 'All giftes, colleccons, legaces etc, to go to the use of the pore.']

Finis.

Theis orders hath bene attried and putt in practize in the seide citie, and is fownde to redowne to theis comodities hereafter ensewenge, viz.

Fyrst that of ix^{c}l children which daielie was ydle and did nothinge butt begge, the same now kepte in worke may earne one with another vj *d.* a weke, which a mownte in the yere to j$^{m.}$ ij^{c} xxxv *li.* which the comon wealth doth reape benefyte therbye.

Also that iij^{xx} iiij men which dayelie did begge and lyved ydely and now ar hable and do earne xij *d.* a weke at the leaste, besides the wekely awllmes, which amownte everi yere j^{c} iij^{xx} vj *li.* viij *s.*, and iiij nobles a weke ther aulmes at iij^{xx} x *li.* by yer.

Also that j^{c} iiij^{xx} women which dayelie did begge and lived idely and nowe ar hable to earne at lest some xij *d.*, some xx *d.*, and som ij *s.* vj *d.* a weke, which befor notwithstandynge the aullmes doth omownte yerelye vij^{c} iiij^{xx} *li.*, of which both men and womens labor the comon wealth do reape the benefyt, besydes iiij nobles a weke ther aulmes ij^{c} *li.* [*sic*, ? iij^{xx} x *li.*].

Also that the citie hath bene charged and stode charged in benevolens to sych strangers as have come owte of the contrye to enhabyt within this citie by suffrance to the som of ij^{c} *li.* by yere.

Also the citie hath bene wekelye charged in collexcions by lysences granted to the healynge of such as hath fallen into diseases by reason of their ydlenes and colde, by evell lodginges and wante of shyfteninge of ther apparell, of ij^{c} lysences in a yere, everi of them at the leaste amowntinge to xxvj *s.* viij *d.* apece ij^{c} iij^{xx} vj *li.* xiij *s.* iiij *d.*

Also the surcharges gyven at mens dores in provision more and above that men nowe be wekelye rated, beinge caste with the leaste amownteth to the some by yere of j^{c} l *li.*

Some of the yerely benefyte amownte unto iij^{m} j^{c}xviij *li.* j *s.* iiij *d.* [*sic*].

Besydes greatly and ofte trowblynge the maiestrates with the ponishment of vacabondes, of which they are nott nowe trowbled with the tenth parte for the feare of the terrour of the house of Bridwell and besyd St. Pawles, travell in making upp thaccompt and in seing good rule and order amongst the beggers and vacabondes.

These thinges beinge voised abrode and understanded, was geven unto the citie great comendacion, wherupon the Lorde of Cannturburies grace, bearinge good wyll to the citie as it seamed, sente unto the Maiour to understande of the orders and of the profytt that the citie reaped therbye, wherupon in hope that some further benefyt (from hym) was hoped to redounde to the citie, was a book made and sent to hym, the contentes ar as apperieth on the other syde [*i.e. as above*].

Orders for the Select Women.

In primis, yow ar to receive everi workinge day into your house, six, eight, tenne or twelve persons at the moste in one house of such idle personnes that ronne aboute a begginge or will woorke at pleasure as they liste.

Item, to theise you ar to doo your good will in teachinge them, but especiallie to have regarde that theie spende not theire tyme idlye but to compell them to woorke. And yf they will loyter to giue punnishment, six stripes with a rodde. Yf it be such as be paste the rodde, to have six or tenne stripes with a roopes ende, or with a holie wande or hesell, or some other reasonable stycke.

Item, yf anie doo stubbernly refuse your correction and will

turne againe uppon yow, then yow ar to sende for one of the Deacons, and he is to se yow giue that stubburne punnishment doble so moch as is above saide. And yf the partie will continewe stubburne after his punnishment, the Deacon is to sende the partie to Bridewell there to receive punnishment with a whippe.

Item, all such idle persons as you have or shall have charge of ar to come to your house everi woorkinge day at the howers here appoynted, viz. from Michaelmas till our Ladies Day in lent [25 March] to be at your house at worke before viij of the clocke in the mornynge, and to goo to ther dinners, yf theie bringe ther dinners with them, at xj of the clocke, and to returne and be at woorke by one, and to remaine woorkinge till it be past fower ; and from our Ladies Day till Michaelmas to be at woorke by vj of the clocke in the mornynge, and to retorne to theire dinners as is aforesaide. And from one to woorke till it be paste vij of the clocke at nighte.

Item, yf anie that shalbe appointed will not kepe theire howres and dayes but loyter at pleasure, yow ar to certifie the deacons therof. And the deacons are to examen them, and to knowe the cause that they kepe from woorke. And if the deacons perceive that the faulte is in theire parentes they ar to giue warnynge thereof to ther parentes, that yf theie doo not se and drive theire youth to woorke and kepe theire howers and dayes, theie ar to loese the relefe wekelie giuene unto them and allso to be punnished. Otherwise yf it be the idlenes of the learner, that person or persons ar to be caried to the select weomen and there to be punnished.

Item, yf ther be such yowthe that will nether be rewled by theire frindes nor by the select weomen, the deacons ar to sende such to Bridewell and there to receive punnishment and coller of yron, and from thence to be sent to the select weomen from whence theie came. And theire to remaine from tyme to tyme till such be brought to woorke.

Item, all such as doo woorke with the select weomen, yf theire frindes or themselves will fynde the stuffes and the woorkinge tooles, theie ar to haue the profittes.

Item, all such as be placed with the select weomen yf theire

frindes or themselves will of a stubburne or leude mynde nether fynde them stuffes, nor thinges to woorke withall (as rockes, cardes, wheles, or such other thinges wherwith theie shold woorke), then yf the select weomen shall fynde them stuffes and woorkinge tooles shall set them on anie such woorkes, theie to haue the profit of theire labor and pay them for ther labor accordinge to theire discretion untill they shall bringe stuffes and be of a better mynde and see to worke for them selues or for theire frindes.

Theis thinges beynge ended and finished was a seasment made throughout the saide citie by Mr. John Aldrich then Maior and the Aldermen of everie warde to be doble rated accordinge to the act of assemblie and so sett downe what euerie one shoold pay to the provision of the saide pore wekely by the nombre of wardes, and allso what ech pore shoolde weekely receive. Rated the weke before Midsomer 1571.

11. CERTIFICATE OF BEGGARS TAKEN IN THE FIRST WATCH AT SOUTHCLEY (NOTTS), 20 AUG., 1571.

[S.P.D. Eliz., Vol. LXXX, No. 27.]

Southcley infra Wapentagium de Bassetlawe in Comitatu Nottinghamensis.

A Kalender of all the Vagabondes Rogues and mightie valiaunt Beggers taken there the firste watche holden the 20th of Auguste 1571, brought and examined before me Nicholas Powtrell, serieaunte at the lawe, one of the Quenes maiestes Justices of peace within the saied Countie, and after punished accordinge to the statute in that Case prouided, and accordinge to the speciall lettree of Commaundement of the Quenes maiestes most honorable privie Counsell to me and others addressed in that behalf.

1. Johane Holmes taken at Normanton as a valiaunt beggar, examined before me and whipped, punnisshed and stocked and sent from Constable to Constable the directe waie to Faresley in the Countie of Warrwyk, where she last dwelled by the space of three yeres and more together.

2. Isabell Cotton
3. Anne Draper
4. John Draper

taken at Normanton as vagarant persons, examined, whipped and punnished and after sent from Constable to Constable the directe waie to Bolton in Lancashier, where they were borne and dwell.

5. Jennet Johnson taken at Normanton as a vagarant person, examined, whipped, stocked and punnished and after sent from Constable to Constable the direct waie to Tolton in the Countie of Yorke, where he last dwelled the space of three yeares and more.

6. John Wilson and
7. Agnes his wief.

taken at Normanton as valiaunt beggars, examined, whipped and stocked and after sent from Constable to Constable the direct waie to Tickhill, where they dwell.

8. Roger Grene a tincker and
9. Alice his wief a pedler

taken at Cromwell, who had a licence according to the statute.

10. John Ratclif a tincker
11. Cicilie his wief

taken there having a licence accordinge to the Statute.

12. John Mylner taken at Cromwell as a vagaraunt Begger, examined, whipped, stocked and punisshed and after sent from one Constable to another vnto Southwell, where he dwelleth.

13. William Fenny taken at Tuxford as a valiaunt mightie beggar, examined, whipped, stocked and punnished and sent from Constable to Constable the direct waye to Penrethe in the Countie of Westmorland, where was borne and last dwelled.

14. John Ringaley taken at Tuxford as an impotent old beggar, punnished and sent to Sturton, where he dwelleth.

15. Laurence Wilby taken at Tuxford as a valiaunt beggar, examined, whipped and punnisshed and sent from Constable to Constable the direct way to Headon, where he dwelleth.

16. Agnes Gilbert taken at Egmanton as a mightie stronge beggar, examined, punnisshed and sent as aforesaid vnto Womandam in the Countie of Leicester.

17. Millicent Waller taken there as a strenge beggar, examined, punnisshed and sent as aforesaid to Ilderne in the Countie of Cumberland, where she was Borne.

18. 19. Margaret Ridge and Reignold her sonne, a child of thage of viij yeres, examined and punnisshed and sent as aforesaid to Fenton in Lincolnshier, where she dwelleth.

20. 21. Hugh West and Johane his wief taken at Egmanton, punnished and sent to Welborne in the Countie of Lincoln, where she dwelleth.

22. 23. John Randall and Isabell his wief taken there, examined, punnished and sent to Towton where they dwell.

Nicholus Powtrell.

12. "AN ACTE FOR THE PUNISHEMENT OF VACABONDES, AND FOR RELEIF OF THE POORE AND IMPOTENT" (14 ELIZABETH, C. 5), 1572.

[Stats. of the Realm, Vol. IV., Pt. I., pp. 590 *seq.*]

II. [Persons above the age of 14 taken begging, shall be committed to Gaol until the next Session.]

. . . . . .

V. And for the full expressing what persone and persones shalbe intended within this Braunche to be Roges Vacaboundes and Sturdye Beggers, to have and receave the punyshement aforesaid for the said lewde maner of Lyef; It ys nowe publyshed declared and set foorth by the Aucthorytie of this present Parlyament, That all and every suche persone and persones that be or utter themselves to be Proctours or Procuratours, goinge in or about any Countrey or Countreys within this Realme, without sufficyent Aucthoritye deryved from or under our Soveraigne Ladye the Queene, and all other ydle persones goinge aboute in any Countrey of the said Realme, using subtyll craftye and unlawfull Games or Playes, and some of them fayninge themselves to have knowledge in Phisnomye Palmestrye or other abused Scyences, whereby they beare the people in Hand they can tell their Destinyes Deathes and Fortunes, and suche other lyke fantasticall Imaginacions; And all and everye persone and persones beynge whole and mightye in Body and able to labour, havinge not Land or Maister, nor using any lawfull Marchaundize Crafte or Mysterye whereby hee or shee might get his or her

Lyvinge, and can gyve no reckninge howe hee or shee dothe lawfully get his or her Lyvinge; and all Fencers Bearewardes Comon Players in Enterludes and Minstrels, not belonging to any Baron of this Realme or towardes any other honorable Personage of greater Degree; all Juglers Pedlars Tynkers and Petye Chapmen; whiche said Fencers Bearewardes Comon Players in Enterludes Mynstrels Juglers Pedlers Tynkers and Petye Chapmen shall wander abroade and have not Lycense of two Justices of the Peace at the leaste, whereof one to be of the Quorum, wher and in what Shier they shall happen to wander; And all Comon Labourers being persons able in Bodye using loytering, and refusinge to worke for suche reasonable Wages as ys taxed and comonly gyven in suche partes where such persones do or shall happen to dwell; and all counterfeytures of Lycenses Passeportes and all users of the same, knowing the same to be counterfeyte; And all Scollers of the Universityes of Oxford or Cambridge that goe about begginge, not beinge aucthorysed under the Seale of the said Universities, by the Comyssarye Chauncelour or Vicechauncelour of the same; And all Shipmen pretendinge Losses by Sea, other than suche as shalbe hereafter provided for; And all persones delivered out of Gaoles that begge for their Fees or do travayle to their Countreys or Freendes, not having Lycense from two Justices of the Peace of the same Countye where he or shee was delyvered; shalbee taken adjudged and deemed Roges Vacaboundes and sturdy Beggers, intended of by this present Act, togeather with all and everye suche other persone and personnes as shalbe hereafter for altering and breaking of such good Orders as in the second parte of this presente Acte shalbe establyshed for the Releef of the aged and ympotent poore people, set forth and declared to bee Vacaboundes.

. . . . . .

XVI. And Forasmuche as Charitye would that poore aged and ympotent personnes should as necessarylye be provided for, as the said Roges Vacabondes and Sturdye Beggers repressed, and that the said aged ympotent and poore People should have convenient Habitacions and Abydinge Places throughout this Realme to settle themselves uppon, to the end that they nor any of them should hereafter begge or wander about; It is therfore

enacted by the aucthoritye of this present Parlyament, That the Justices of Peace of all and singuler the Shyers of England and Wales within the Lymytes of their Commyssions, and all other Justices of the Peace, Maiors Sheryffes Baylyffes and other Officers of all and every Cytye Borough Rydinge and Fraunchesies within this Realme, whereof they be Justices at Peace, within the Lymittes of their Aucthoritie, shall at or before the said Feaste of Saint Bartholomewe next comynge divide themselves, and so beinge devided shall within every of their severall Divisions and Aucthorities make diligent Searche and Enquierye of all aged poore ympotent and decayed persons borne within their said Divisions and Lymittes, or whiche were there dwelling within Three yeres next before this present Parliament, whiche lyve or of necessitye be compelled to lyve by Almes of the Charytye of the People, that be or shalbe abydynge within the Lymyttes of their Commyssions and Aucthorytyes, and shall uppon that Search made make a Register Booke conteyninge the Names and Surnames of all suche aged decayed and ympotent poore People as be within their said Lymittes and Aucthorities, which shall alwayes remayne with the said Justices Maiors Bayliffes or other Head Officers or any one of them; And when the number of the said poore People forced to lyve uppon Almes be by that meanes truely knowen, then the said Justices Maiors Sheryffes Baylyffes and other Offycers shall within lyke convenient tyme devise and appointe, within evrye their said severall Divisions, meete and convenient places by their dyscretions to settle the same poore People for their Habitacions and Abydynges, yf the parishe within the whiche they shalbee founde shall not or wyll not provide for them; and shall also within lyke convenient tyme number all the said poore People within there said severall Lymyttes, and thereuppon (having regarde to the number) set downe what porcion the weekely Charge towardes the Reliefe and Sustentacion of the said poore People wyll amounte unto within everye their said severall Division and Lymyttes; and that donne, they the said Justices Maiors Sheriffes Baylyffes and other Officers, within every their severall Commyssions Aucthorities Divisions and Lymyttes, shal by their their good discretions taxe and assesse all and every the

Inhabitauntes, dwellinge in all and every Cytye Boroughe Towne Village Hamlet and Place knowen within the said Lymyttes and Divisions, to suche weekely Charge as they and everye of them shall weekely contribute towardes the Releef of the said poore People, and the names of all suche Inhabitauntes taxed shall also entre into the said Register Booke togeather with their Taxacion, and also shall by their discretion within every their said Divisions and Lymyttes appoint or see Collectoures for one whole yere to bee aypointed of the said weekely porcion, which shall collect and geather the said proporcion, and make delyverye of so muche thereof, accordinge to the discretion of the said Justices Maiors Sheryffes Baylyffes and other Officers, to the said poore People, as the said Justices Maiors Sheryffes Bayliffes and other Officers shall appointe them; And alsoe shall appointe the Overseers of the said poore People by their discretions, to continue also for one whole yere; and yf they doe refuse to bee Overseers, then everye of them so refusinge to forfayt tenne shillinges for every suche default.

. . . . . .

13. "AN ACTE FOR THE SETTING OF THE POORE ON WORKE, AND FOR THE AVOYDING OF YDLENES" (18 ELIZABETH, C. 3), 1576.

[Stats. of the Realm, Vol. IV., Pt. I., pp. 610 *seq.*]

I. [For amending Statute 14 Elizabeth, c. 5; two Justices of Peace empowered to make orders for punishment of the reputed parents of bastard children, and for the maintenance of such children by their parents; a parent not obeying such order shall be committed, etc.]

II. [Rogues shall be conveyed by the Constables from parish to parish, until they reach the common gaol.]

. . . . . .

IV. Also to the Intente Yowthe maybe accustomed and brought up in Laboure and Worke, and then not lyke to growe to bee ydle Roges, and to the Entente also that suche as bee alredye growen up in Ydlenes and so Roges at this present, maye not have any juste Excuse in sayeng that they cannot get

any Service or Worcke, and then without any Favour or Tolleracion worthy to be executed, and that other poore and needye persons being willinge to worcke maye bee set on Worcke: Bee yt ordeyned and enacted by the Aucthorytye aforesaid, That in everye cyttye and Towne Corporate within this Realme, a competent Store and Stocke of Woole Hempe Flaxe Iron or other Stufe by Thappoinetemente and Order of the Maior Bayliffes Justices or other Head Officers having Rule in the said Cytyes or Townes Corporate (of themselves and all other the Inhabitauntes within their severall Aucthorityes to bee taxed leavied and geathered) shalbee provided: And that lykewise in every other Market Towne or other place within eyerye Countye of this Realme, where (to the Justices of Peace or greater parte of them in their Generall Sessions yerelye nexte after Easter within everye Lymite shalbee thought moste meete and convenient) a lyke competent Store and Stocke of Wooll Hempe Flaxe Iron or other Stuffe as the Countryee ys moste meete for, by Appointemente and Order of the said Justices of Peace or the greater part of them in their said Generall Sessions (of all the Inhabitauntes within their severall Aucthorityes to bee taxed levied and geathered) shalbe provided, the said Stores and Stockes in such Cytyes and Townes Corporate to bee committed to the Handes and Custodye of suche persones as shall by the Maior Bayliffes Justices or other Heade Officers having Aucthoritye in everye suche Cyttye or Towne Corporate bee appointed, and in other Townes and places to suche persons as to the said Justices of Peace or the greater parte of them in their said Generall Sessions of the Peace in their severall Countyes shalbee by them appointed; Which said persons so appointed as aforesaid shall have power and aucthoritie (by the Advise of them who doe appointe them) to dispose order and give Rules for the division and manner of worckeing of the said Stockes and Stores, who shall from henceforth bee called the Collectours and Governours of the Poore, to thentente everye suche poore and nedye person olde or younge able to doe any Worcke standing in necessitye of Releife shall not for want of Worcke goe abrode eyther begginge or committinge Pilfringes or other Misdemeanor lyvinge in Idlenes; which Collectours and

Governours of the Poore from tyme to tyme (as Cause requierethe) shall and maye of the same Stocke and Store deliver to suche poore and needye person a competente portion to bee wrought into Yarne or other Matter within suche tyme and in suche sorte as in their discretions shalbee from tyme to tyme lymitted and prefixed, and the same afterwardes being wrought, to bee from tyme to tyme delyvered to the said Collectours and Governours of the Poore, for which they shall make paymente to them which worcke the same accordinge to the deserte of the Worcke, and of newe delyver more to bee wrought; and so from tyme to tyme to deliver Stuffe unwrought and receyve the same againe wrought as often as cause shall require; Which Hempe Wooll Flaxe or other Stuffe wrought from tyme to tyme shalbee sold by the said Collectours and Governours of the Poore eyther at some Market or other Place, and at suche tyme as theye shall thincke meete, and with the Money comming of the Sale, to buye more Stufe in suche wyse as the Stockes or Store shall not bee decayed in Value; And yf hereafter any suche person able to doe any suche Worcke shall refuse to worcke or shall goe abrode begginge or lyve idellye, or takinge such Worcke shall spoyle or imbesell the same in suche wise that after Monition given the Minister and Churchewardens of the Parishe and Collectours and Governours of the Poore, or the more parte of them, shall thincke the same person not meete to have anye more Worcke delyvered out of the same Store and Stocke, that then upon Certificate thereof made under their Handes and brought by one of said Collectours and Governours of the Poore to the Handes of suche person or persons as shall in that Countye have the Oversight and Governement of one of the Howses of Correction hereafter mentioned in this Acte, in convenient Apparrell meet for suche a Bodye to were, hee shee or theye from suche Towne Place or Parishe shalbee receyved into suche Howse of Correction, there to be straightlye kepte, as well in Diet as in Worke, and also punisshed from tyme to tyme as to the said persons havinge the Oversight and Governemente of the said Howse of Correction shalbee appointed as hereafter in this Acte ys declared; All which Stockes and Stores shalbee provided and delyvered to the Handes of the said Collectours and Governours

of the Poore before the firste daye of November nexte comminge and at all tymes hereafter as occasion shall serve; and that everye person refusinge to paye or not payeng suche somme of Moneye towardes the said Stockes and Stores, as upon them or any of them shalbee by order aforesaid taxed, and at suche tyme as by the same order shalbee appointed, shall for everye Defaulte forfayte dowble so muche as hee or theye shalbee so taxed unto.

V. [Houses of Correction shall be provided in each county for punishing and employing rogues and unsettled poor, etc. Penalty for refusing to contribute thereto, double rate.]

VI. [Justices in session shall appoint overseers of such Houses of Correction and collectors of rates. Penalty on refusing such offices, £5.]

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14. LETTER FROM THE MAYOR OF EXETER ON BEHALF OF GEORGE AND EDE SAMPFORDE TRAVELLING IN SEARCH OF WORK, 1576.

[R. H. Morris, Chester in the Plantagenet and Tudor Reigns (1894 ?), p. 358.]

Letter of Commendacion. To all maiors, Justices, Sheriffes, Bailiffes, and other her Majesties officers to whome these presentes shall come, Robt. Chaffer, maier of the Cittie of Exeter, greetinge. Forasmuche as the bearer hereof, George Sampforde of this Cittie, Tooker, and Ede, his wife, beinge without woork, are desirous to travaile to some conveynient place where they maie have woorke for ther better relefe, and also havinge with them one childe: These are therefore to praie you and everie of you to whome these presentes shall come quietly to permitte and suffer these berers herof to seek for work for ther better releff without any of your lett molestacon or trouble.[1] In wittenes wherof to these presentes I, the said maier, have sett my hande and seale. Yeven the eight daie of June, in the nynetienth yeare of the raigne of our Soveraigne Ladie Elizabeth, etc.

[1] They got as far as Chester, for the passport is preserved among the Chester records.

15. WILLIAM FLEETWOOD, RECORDER OF LONDON, TO BURGHLEY ON THE APPREHENSION OF MASTERLESS MEN NEAR LONDON, 14 JAN. 1582.

[Lansdowne MSS., No. 34, Art. 3, printed in H. Ellis, Original Letters, First Series (1824), Vol. II., pp. 283-88.]

My singuler good Lord, uppon Thursday at even, her Majestie in her Cooche, nere Islyngton, taking of the aier, her Highnes was environed with a nosmber of Rooges. One Mr Stone a footeman cam in all hast to my Lord Maior, and after to me, and told us of the same. I dyd the same night send warrants owt into the seyd quarters and in to Westminster and the Duchie: and in the mornyng I went a brood my selff, and I tooke that daye lxxiiij roogs, whereof some were blynd and yet great usurers, and very riche: and the same daye towards night I sent for Mr Harrys and Mr Smithe and the governors of Bridwell, and tooke all the names of the roogs; and sent theym frome the Sessions Hall unto Bridwell where they remayned that night. Upon Twelff daye in the forenoone, the Master of the Rolls, my selff, and others receyved a charge before my Lords of the Counsell as towching roogs and masterles men, and to have a pryvie searche. The same daye at after dyner (for I dyned at the Rolls) I mett the governors of Bridwell, and so that after nowne we examined all the seyd roogs and gave theym substanciall payment. And the strongest we bestowed in the mylne and the lighters. The rest we desmyssed with a promise of a dooble paye if we mett with theym agayne. Upon Sounday being crastino of the Twelfth daye, I dyned with Mr Deane of Westminster, where I conferred with hym towching Westminster and the Duchie, and then I Tooke order for Southwarke, Lambeth, and Newyngton, from whence I receyved a shool of xl rooggs, men and women, and above. I bestowed theym in Bridwell. I dyd the same after nowne peruse Pooles, where I took about xxti cloked roogs that there use to kepe standing. I placed theym also in Bridwell. The next mornyng, being Mounday, the Master of the Roolls and the reste tooke order with the Constables for a privie searche ageynst Thursdaye at night, and to have the offendors browght to the Sessions Hall upon Frydaye in the mornyng where wee the Justices shold

mete. And agaynst the same tyme my Lord Maior and I dyd the lyke in London and Sowthworke. The same afternowne the masters of Bridwell and I mett, and, after every man being examined, eche one receyved his payment according to his deserts; at whiche tyme the strongest were put to worke and the other dismissed into theire Countries. The same daye the Master of the Savoye was with us and sayd he was sworne to lodge "*claudicantes, egrotantes, et peregrinantes;*" and the next mornyng I sent the Constables of the Duchie to the Hospitals, and they browght unto me at Bridewell vj tall fellowes that were draymen unto bruers and were neither "*claudicantes, egrotantes*, nor *peregrinantes.*" The Constables if they might have had theyre own wills wold have browght as many moo. The Master dyd wryte a very curtese letter unto us to produce theym: and although he wrote charitably unto us, yet were they all sowndly payed, and sent home to thare masters. All Tewsday, Weddensdaye, and Thursdaye there cam in nosmbers of roogs; they were rewarded all according to theire deserts. Upon Frydaye mornyng, at the Justice Hall, there were browght in above a C. lewed people taken in the privie searche. The Masters of Bridwell receyved theym, and immediatly gave theym punishment. This Satterday, after Causes of Consciens herd by my Lord Maior and me, I dined, and went to Polls and in other places as well within the libertes as elswhere, and I founde not one rooge stirryng. Emongest all these thyngs I dyd note, that we had not of London, Westminster nor Southwarke nor yet Middesex nor Surrey above twelve, and those we have taken order for. The resedew for the most were of Wales, Salop, Chester, Somerset, Barks, Oxforde, and Essex; and that fewe or none of theym had ben abowt London above iij or iiij mownthes. I dyd note also that we mett not agayne with any in all our searches that had receyved punishment. The chieff nurserie of all these evell people is the Savoye, and the brick kilnes near Islyngton. As for the brick kylnes, we will take suche order that they shall be reformed. And I trust by your good Lordship's help the Savoye shall be amended; for suerlie, as by experiens I fynd it, the same place, as it is used, is not converted to a good use or purpose. And this shall suffice for Roogs. . . .

Thus most humbly I send unto your good Lordship this last weeks Diarye, ceasing at this tyme to troble your honor any further. At Bacon howse this 14 of January, 1581 [*i.e.* 1582].

Your good Lordships most bounden
W. Fletewoode.

To the right honorable and my singuler good Lord My Lord High Treasorer of England.

16. FLEETWOOD TO BURGHLEY ON A SCHOOL FOR PICKPOCKETS IN LONDON, 7 JULY, 1585.

[Lansdowne MSS., No. 44, Art. 38, printed in H. Ellis, Original Letters, 1st Series, Vol. II., pp. 295-303.]

Right honorable and my verie good Lord, uppon Thursdaye laste, beinge the crastinn of Trinitie Terme, we kepte a Sessions of Inquyrie in London in the forenone, and in the afternone we kepte the lyke att Fynsburie for Middlesex, in which two severall Sessionses all such as were to be arrayegned for felonye at the Gaole deliverye were indyted. Uppon Frydaie last we sate at the Justice hall at Newgate from vij in the morninge untill vij at night, where were condempned certen horstealers, cutpurses, and such lyke, to the nusmber of x, whereof ix were executed, and the tenthe stayed by a meanes from the Courte. These were executed uppon Saterdaye in the morninge. There was a Showmaker also condempned for wyllfull murder commytted in the Blacke Fryers, who was executed uppon Mondaie in the morninge. The same daye my Lord Maior beinge absente abowte the goods of the Spannyards, and also all my Lords the Justices of the Benches beinge also awaye, we fewe that were there did spend the same daie abowte the searchinge out of sundrye that were receptors of Felons, where we fownd a greate manye aswell in London, Westminster, Sowthwarke, as in all other places abowte the same. Amongest our travells this one matter tumbled owt by the waye, that one Wotton, a gentilman borne, and sometyme a marchauntt man of good credyte, who fallinge by tyme into decaye kepte an Alehowse att Smarts keye neere Byllingesgate, and after, for some mysdemeanor beinge

put downe, he reared upp a newe trade of lyffe, and in the same Howse he procured all the Cuttpurses abowt this Cittie to repaire to his said howse. There was a schole howse sett upp to learne younge boyes to cutt purses. There were hung up two devises, the one was a pockett, the other was a purse. The pocket had in yt certen cownters and was hunge abowte with hawkes bells, and over the toppe did hannge a litle sacring bell; and he that could take owt a cownter without any noyse, was allowed to be *a publique Foyster:* and he that could take a peece of sylver owt of the purse without the noyse of any of the bells, he was adjudged *a judiciall Nypper.* Nota that a Foister is a Pick-pockett, and a Nypper is termed a Pickepurse, or a Cutpurse. And as concerninge this matter, I will set downe noe more in this place, but referr your Lordship to the paper herein enclosed. . . .

Fearinge that I trouble your Lordship with my tedious Lettres I end, this vijth of Julie, 1585.

Your good Lordships moste humbly bownden
W. Fletewoode.

[*Enclosure.*]

The Names of a number of Maisterles men and Cuttpurses whose practise is to robbe gentlemens Chambers and Artificers shoppes in and about London.

[Here follow 45 names.]

Harboringe Howses for Maisterles Men, and for such as lyve by theifte and other such lyke Sheefts: viz^{t}.

London	Richard Waterward at the Fawcon in Grace streate
	Wottons howse at Smarts Keye
	The Gunne att Byllingsgate
	The Crowne at Byshopsgate
	Mayden heade, by the Towre dyche.
	The Harrowe in Bedlem
	The Rose at Fletebrydge
Westm.	The Styll in the Saynturie.
	The Beare and Ragged Stafe at Charing Crosse
	The Redd Legge in the Pallace
	The White horse in Tuttell streate
	The White Lyon in the Sayntuarie
	One Auncient by the Abbey of Westminster.

Midd. { Bakers howse in Turnmyll streate
The Blacke Lyon in Shordytche
Mugglestons howse in the White Chaple

Surr. { Pressinge Yron in Sowthwarke
The Roose at Newington Butts.

Memorand[um]. That in Wotton's howse at Smarts Keye are wrytten in a table divers Poysies, and among the rest one is this

Si spie sporte, si non spie, tunc steale.

Another is thus

Si spie, si non spie, Foyste, nyppe, lyfte, shave and spare not.

Note that *Foyste* is to cutt a pockett, *nyppe* is to cutt a purse, *lyft* is to robbe a shoppe or a gentilmans chamber, *shave* is to fylche a clooke, a sword, a sylver sponne or suche like, that is negligentlie looked unto. Nota, that *mylken ken* is to commyt a roborie or burgularie in the night in a dwelling howse, &c.

[*Addressed*] To the Right honorable and my synguler good Lord the Lord Highe Treasorer of England.

17. EDWARD HEXT, JUSTICE OF THE PEACE IN SOMERSET, TO BURGHLEY ON THE INCREASE OF ROGUES AND VAGABONDS, 25 SEPT., 1596.

[From Lansdowne MS., No. 81, Art. 6, ff. 161-62, printed in F. Aydelotte, Elizabethan Rogues and Vagabonds (Oxford Hist. and Lit. Studies, 1913), App., pp. 168-73.]

Right honorable and my very good Lord,

Havynge longe observed the rapynes and thefts Comytted within this Countye wher I serve, and fyndynge they multyplye daylye to the vtter impoverysshinge of the poore husbondman that beareth the greatest burthen of all services, And knowyng your most honorable Care of the preservacon of the peace of this land, [I] do thynck yt my bounden dewtye to present vnto your honorable and grave consideracion these Calenders inclosed of the prisoners executed and delyvered this yere past in this Countye of Somerset, wherin your Lordship may behold clxxxiij most wycked and desperate persons to be inlarged. And of

these very fewe come to anye good, for none wyll receave them ynto servyce, And yn treuth worke they will not, nether canne they withowt most extreame paynes, by reason their zinowes are so benumed and styff throwghe Idlenesse as theyr lyms, beynge putt to any hard labor, will greve them above measure, So as they will rather hazard ther lyves then work. And this I knowe to be trewe, for att suche tyme as our howses of Correccion weare vp (which are putt downe in most parts in Ingland, the more pyttye), I sent dyvers wandrynge suspycyous persons to the howse of Correccion, and all in generall wold beseche me with bytter teares to send them rather to the gayle, and denyinge yt them, some confessed felonyes vnto me by which they hazarded ther lyves, to thend they wold not be sent to the howse of Correccion where they shold be ynforced to worke. Butt, my good Lord, these are not all the theves and Robbers that are abroad in thys Countye, for I knowe that yn the experyens of my service heare, that the fyveth person that comytteth a felonye ys not browght to this tryall, for they are growen so exceadynge Cunnynge by ther often beynge in the gayle as the most part are never taken; yf they be and come ynto the hands of the symple man that hathe lost hys goods, he ys many tymes content to take hys goods and lett them slypp, because he will not be bound to give evidens at the assises to hys troble and chardge; others are delyvered to simple Constables and tythingmen that sometymes wylfullye other tymes negligently suffer them to escape; others are brawght before some Iustice that eyther wanteth experyence to examyn a Cunnynge thief, or wyll not take the paynes that owght to be taken yn siftyng him vppon every circumstance and presumpsyon, and that donne see that the partye Robbed give full evidence, and yf he find an Ignoramus found by the graund Iurye, and knowe by the thexamynacion he hath taken, that yt ys in defalte of good evidence, then he owght to informe the Iudge, that the party Robbed may be called and ynioyned by the Court to frame a newe byll and give better evidence. And then owght the Iustyce to be present att the tryall of his prisoner, that he may informe both Iudge and Iury what he found by examynacion, and lykewise see that the partye robbed give that evidence to

the petytt Iury that he canne. In which default of Iustice manye wicked theves escape, for most comonly the simple Cuntryman and woman, lokynge no farther then ynto the losse of ther owne goods, are of opynyon that they wold not procure a mans death for all the goods yn the world, others vppon promyse to have ther goods agayne wyll gyve faynt evidens yf they be not stryctly loked ynto by the Iustyce. And these that thus escape ynfect great numbers, ymboldenynge them by ther escapes, some havynge ther books by intreatye of the Iustices them selves that cannot reade a word, others havinge byn burnt in the hand more tymes then ones, for after a moneth or too ther wilbe no signe in the worlde, And they will change both name and habytt and comonly go ynto other sheeres so as no man shall knowe them. And the greatest parte are nowe growen to thes petytt felonyes for which they may have ther booke, by which they are imboldened to this great wickednesse. And happy weare yt for England yf Clergy weare taken awaye in case of felonye.

For god ys my wytnesse I do with grief protest yn the dewtye of a subiecte, I do not see howe yt ys possible for the poore Cuntryman to beare the burthens dewly layde vppon hym, and the rapynes of the Infynytt numbers of the wicked wandrynge Idell people of the land, So as men are dryven to watch ther sheepefolds, ther pastures, ther woods, their Cornfylds, all things growyng too too [*sic*] comon. Others there be (and I feare me imboldened by the wandrynge people) that styck not to say boldlye they must not starve, they will not starve. And this yere there assembled lxxx in a Companye and tooke a whole Carte loade of Cheese from one dryvynge yt to a fayre and dispersed yt amongest them, for which some of them have indured longe imprisonment and fyne by the Iudgment of the good Lord Chief Iustice att owr last Crismas Sessions; which may grow dangerous by the ayde of suche numbers as are abroade, especyally in this tyme of dearthe, who no dowpt anymate them to all contempte bothe of noble men and gentlemen, contynially Bussynge into there eares that the ritche men have gotten all into ther hands and will starve the poore. And I maye Iustlye say that the Infynyte numbers of the Idle wandrynge

people and robbers of the land are the chefest cause of the dearthe, for thowghe they labor not, and yet they spend dobly as myche as the laborer dothe, for they lye Idlely in the ale howses daye and nyght eatinge and drynkynge excessively. And within these iij monethes I tooke a thief that was executed this last assizes, that confessed vnto me that he and too more laye in an Alehouse three weeks, in which tyme they eate xx^{ti} fatt sheepe wherof they stole every night on, besydes they breake many a poore mans plowghe by stealing an Oxe or too from him, and not beinge able to buy more leaseth a great parte of his tyllage that yere, others leese ther shepe owte of ther folds, by which ther grounds are not so frutefull as otherwyse they wold be. And such numbers beynge growen to this Idle and thevyshe lief, ther ar scant sufficient to do the ordinary tyllage of the land, for I know that some having had ther husbandmen sent for souldiers they have lost a greate parte of ther tyllage that yere, and others are not to be gotten by reason so manye are abroad practysinge all kind of villanye.

And when these lewde people are comytted to the gayle, the poore Cuntry that ys robbed by them are inforced there to feede them, which they greve att. And this yere ther hath bynne disbursed to the releefe of the prisoners in the gayle above lxxiij$^{li.}$, And yet they are alowed but vi$^{d.}$ a man weekely. And yf they weare not delyvered att every quarter Sessions, so myche more mony wold not serve, nor too suche gayles wold not hold them, but yf this monye myght be ymployed to buylde some howses adioynynge to the gayle for them to worke yn, And every prisoner comytted for anye cause and not able to releve him self compelled to worke, And as manye of them as are delyvered vppon ther trialls, eyther by acquitall of the graund Iury or petytt Iurye, burnynge yn the hand, or whyppynge, presently transferred thence to the howses of Correccion to be kept in worke, except some present will take any into servyce, I dare presume to saye the xth felonye will not be Comytted that nowe ys. And yf some lyke course myght be taken with the wandrynge people they wold easely be brawght to ther places of aboade, And beinge abroade they all in general are receavers of all stolen things that are portable, as namely the Tynker in

his Budgett, the pedler in his hamper, the glasseman in his baskett, and the lewde proctors which carye the broad Seale and Grene seale yn ther baggs, Covers infynytt numbers of felonyes, yn suche sorte as the tenth felony cometh not to light, for he hath hys receaver at hand in every alehowse in every Bushe, And these laste rable are very Norseryes of roages. And of wandryng souldiers ther are more abroade then ever weare, notwithstanding her Maiesties most gracyous proclamation lately sett forth for the suppressinge of them, which hathe not donne that good yt wold, yf yt had bynne vsed as yt owght, for the Iustices in every shere owght to have assembled them selves vppon yt, and vppon dewe consideracion had of her Maiesties most gracyous pleasure therin aquaynted all inferior officers with yt, and so taken some stryct course for the apprehending of them, but the proclamacions beinge sent to the Shiryffs, they delyver them over to the Baylyffs to be proclaymed in the marketts; ther a fewe ignorant persons heares a thinge redd which they have lyttle to do with and lesse regard, And the xth Iustyce knoweth not yet that ever ther was any such proclamacion.

Your good Lordship may perceave by this Counterfect passe that I send you inclosed that the lewde yonge men of England ar devoted to this wicked course of lief, for the man that traveled by color of yt ys inheritor to xl *li.* land after his father, and hys name ys Lymeryck, hys father a gentleman and dwelleth att northlache in the County of Gloucester. I kept him in prison too monethes and examyned him often, and yet still confirmed the trewth of his pasporte with most execrable othes, whervppon I sent ynto Cornwall wher he sayde hys mother dwelt, and by that meanes discoverynge him, he confessed all; by which your Lordship may see yt ys most hard to discover any by examinacion, all beinge resolved never to confesse anye thinge, assuringe them selves that none will send too or three C myles to discover them for a whippinge matter, which they regard nothinge, for all that weare whipped heare vppon my apprehension ar all abroade. And otherwyse will yt never be withowt a more severe course, the libertye of ther wycked lyef ys so sweete vnto them. I may Iustlye saye that the able men that are abroade sekynge the

spoyle and confusion of the land are able, yf they weare reduced to good subieccion, to give the greatest enymye her Maiestie hath a stronge battell; And as they ar nowe they are so myche strength vnto the enymye, besides the generacion that daylye spryngeth from them ys lyke to be most wicked. The corn that ys wastfullye spent and consumed in Alehouses by the lewde wandring people will fynde the greatest parte of the poore, for yt ys most certeyne yf they light vppon an Alehowse that hath stronge ale they will not departe vntill they have druncke him drye. And it falleth owt by experyens that the alehowses of this land consumeth the greatest parte of the barly, for vppon a surveighe taken of the Alehowses onely of the towne of wells, leavinge owt the Tavernes and Inns, yt appeared by ther owne confessions that they spent this last yere twelve thowsand busshells of Barly malt, which wold have afforded to every markett of this shere x busshells weekely, and wold have satisfied a great parte of the poore, a greate parte wherof ys consumed by these wandring people, who being reduced to Conformytye, Corne no dowpt wilbe myche more plentyfull.

By this your good Lordship maye informe your self of the state of the whole realme, which I feare me ys in as ill case or worse then owrs, for we are wounderfully ayded by the best lord Chief Iustice that ever was and the good Baron Mr. Ewens, and our Iustices of Assise very reverent good men and most carefull in ther callynge. But the greatest fault ys in the inferior mynyster[s] of Iustice, who shold vse more ernest indevor to brynge them to the seate of Iudgment and Iustice, wherin yf every Iustice of peace in England dyd in every of ther devisions quarterly meete and before ther metyng cause a diligent serche to be made for the apprehendinge of all roages and vagrant suspicious persons, And to brynge them before them, where they shold receave the Iudgment of the lawe, and the sturdyest of them that are most daungerous Comytted to the howse of Correccion or gayle, and at this meetynge inquyre of the defaults of Alehowses which harbor them, of Constables and Tythingmen that suffer them to wander, and of inhabitants that releve them contrary to the lawe, and inflyct punyshment accordinge to the statute, a roage cold hardlye escape. Experience teacheth that

thexecucion of that godlye lawe vppon that wycked secte of Roages the Egipsions had clene cutt them of, but they seynge the liberty of others do begynne to spr ynge up agayne, and ther are in this Cuntry of them. But vppon the perill of my lief I avowe yt, they weare never so daungerous as the wandryng Souldiers and other stout roages of England, for they went visibly in on company and weare not above xxx or xl of them in a shere, but of these sort of wandringe Idell people there ar three or fower hundred in a shere, and thowgh they go by too and three in a Companye, yet all or the most parte yn a shere do meete eyther att feare or markett, or in some Alehowse once a weeke. And yn a great haye howse in a remote place ther dyd resort weekely xl, sometymes lx, where they dyd roast all kynde of good meat. The inhabitants, beinge wounderfully greved by ther rapynes, made Complaynte at our last Ester Sessions; after my Lord Chief Iustice departure precepts weare made to the Tythings adioynynge for the apprehendinge of them; they made aunswere they weare so strong they durst not adventure of them, wher-vppon precepts weare made to the Counstables of the hundred, but fewe apprehended, for they have intellygens of all things intended agaynst them, for ther be of them that wilbe present at every assise, Sessions, and assembly of Iustices, and will so clothe them selves for that tyme as anye shold deame him to be an honest husbondman, So as nothinge is spoken, donne, or intended to be donne but they knowe yt. I know this to be trew by the confession of some.

And they growe the more daungerous in that they fynde they have bread that feare in Iustices and other inferior officers that no man dares to call them into questyon. And at a late Sessions, a tall man, a verye sturdy and auncyent traveller, was Comytted by a Iustice and browght to the Sessions and had Iudgment to be whipped, he presently att the barre, in the face and hearynge of the whole benche, sware a great othe that yf he weare whipped yt shold be the dearest whipping to some that ever was; yt strake suche a feare in him that Comytted him as he prayed he myght [be] deferred vntill the assises, wher he was delyvered without anye whipping or other harme, And the Iustice glad he had so pacyfyed his wrath. And they lawghe

in ther sleves att the lenyty of the lawe and the tymerousnesse of thexecutyoners of yt. And if [yt] please your honor for the good of your Cuntry to Comaund a view of the Callenders of all the gayles in England, you shall behold a lamentable estate, wherby your good Lordship may informe yourself and reaceave nothing from me, which I humbly crave, fearinge least yt shold be conceaved amysse by some; but knowinge the danger that may growe by these wycked people to my dread and most deare soveraygnes most peaceable government, I will not leave yt unadvertysed, thowghe I shold hazard my lyef by yt. And so most humbly crave pardon for this my boldnesse, with your honorable acceptaunce of my most bounden dewty and love, from my poore howse att Netherham in Somersetshire this xxvth of September,

your good Lordships in all humblenesse to be Comaunded,

Edw. Hext.

18. "AN ACTE FOR THE RELIEFE OF THE POORE" (39 ELIZABETH, c. 3), 1597.

[This act is printed in Stats. of the Realm, Vol. IV., Pt. II., pp. 896 *seq.* It has been collated with the original in the House of Lords. Words in italics are written above the line in the original.]

I. Be yt enacted by the Aucthority of this presente Parlyamente, That the Churchwardens of every Parishe, and fower substancial Howsholders there beinge Subsidy men, or for wante of Subsidy men fower other substancial Howseholders of the saide Parishe, who shall be nominated yearely in Easter Weeke, under the Hande and Seale of two or more Justices of the Peace in the same Cownty, whereof one to be of the Quorum, dwellinge in or neare the same Parishe, shall be called Overseers of the Poore of the same Parishe; and they or the greater parte of them shall take Order from tyme to tyme by and with the Consent of two or more such Justices of Peace, for settinge to worke of the Children of all such whose Parentes shall not by the saide persons be thought able to kepe and maytaine their Children, And also all such persons maryed or unmaryed as havinge no means

to mayntayne them, use no ordinary and dayly Trade of life to gett there lyvinge by; and allso to rayse wekely or otherwise (by Taxacion of every Inhabitant and every Occupyer of Landes in the saide Parishe in such competent summe and sumes of Money as they shall thinke fitt) a convenyent Stocke of Flaxe Hempe Wooll Threed Iron and other necessary Ware and Stuffe to sett the Poore on worke, and allso competent summes of Money for and towardes the necessary Reliefe of the lame ympotente olde blynde and such other amonge them beinge poore and not able to worke, and also for the puttinge owte of such children to be Apprentices, to be gathered owte of the same Parishe accordinge to the Ability of the saide Parishe; and to do and execute all other thinges aswell for the disposinge of the saide Stocke as otherwise concerninge the premises, as to them shall seme convenyent: Whiche saide Churchwardens and Overseers so to be nominated, or such of them as shall not be lett by sickenes or other juste excuse to be allowed by such two Justices of Peace or more, shall mete togither at the leaste once everie Moneth in the Churche of the saide Parishe, upon the Sonday in the Afternone after Divyne Service, there to consider of some good course to be taken, and of some mete Orders to be sett downe in the premises; and shall within fower dayes after the ende of there yeare, and after other Overseers nominatede as aforesayde, make and yealde upp to such two Justices of Peace a true and perfect Accompte of all sumes of Money by them receaved or rated and sessed and not receaved, and allso of such Stocke as shall be in there Handes or in the Handes of any of the Poore to worke, and of all other thinges concernynge there saide Office, and such sume or sommes of Money as shall be in their Handes shall pay and deliver over to the saide Churchwardens and Overseers newly nominated and appoynted as aforesaide: upon payne that every one of them absentinge themselves withowte lawfull cause as aforesaide from such monethly Metinge for the purpose aforesaide or beinge necligent in there Office, or in the Execucion of the Orders aforesaide, beinge made by and with the Assent of the sayde Justices of Peace, to forfeyte for every such defalt Twenty Shillinges.

II. And be yt allso enacted, That if the saide Justices of Peace

doe perceyve that the Inhabitantes of any Parishe are not able to levy among themselves suffycient sommes of Money for the purposes aforesayde, That then the sayde Justices shall and may taxe rate and assesse as aforesaid any other of other Parishes, or owte of any Parishe within the Hundred where the sayde Parishe ys, to pay such somme and sommes of Money to the Churchwardens and Overseers of the sayde poore Parishe for the saide Purposes, as the saide Justices shall thinke fitt, accordinge to the intente of this Lawe; And if the sayde Hundred shall not be thoughte to the sayd Justices able and fitt to releive the saide severall Parishes not able to provyde for themselves as aforesayde, then the Justices of Peace at there generall Quarter Sessions or the greater nomber of them shall rate and assesse as aforesaide anye other of other Parishes, or owte of any Parishe within the sayde County for the Purposes aforesayde, as in their discrecion shall seme fitt.

III. And that it shall be lawfull for the sayde Churchwardens and Overseers or any of them by Warrant from any such two Justices of Peace to levy as well the sayde sommes of Money of every one that shall refuse to contribute accordinge as they shall be assessed, by Distres and Sale of the Offenders Goodes, as the summes of Money or Stocke which shall be behinde upon any Accompte to be made as aforesayde, rendring to the Party the Overplus; and in defecte of such Distres, it shall be lawfull for any such two Justices of the Peace to commit him to Prison, there to remayne withowt Bayle or Maynprise till payment of the sayde Somme or Stocke; And the sayde Justices of Peace or any one of them to sende to the Howse of Correccion such as shall not ymploy themselves to worke beinge appoynted thereunto as aforesayde; And allso anie two such Justices of Peace to commit to Prison every one of the sayde Churchwardens and Overseers which shall refuse to accompte, there to remayne withowt Bayle or Maynprise, till he have made a true Accompte and satisfyed and payde so much as upon the sayde Accompte shall be remayninge in his Handes.

IV. And be yt further enacted, That it shall be lawfull for the sayde Churchwardens and Overseers or the greater parte of them, by the Assent of any two Justices of the Peace, to bynde any

such Children as aforesayde to be Apprentises, where they shall se convenyent, till such Man child shall come to the Age of fower and twenty yeares, and such Woman childe to the Age of one and twenty years; the same to be as effectuall to all purposes as if suche Childe were of full Age and by Indenture of Covenant bownde him or her selfe.

V. And to the intente that necessary places of Habitacion may more convenyently be provided for such poore ympotente people, Be yt enacted by the Aucthority aforesaide, That yt shall and may be lawfull for the saide churchwardens and Overseers or the greater parte of them, by the leave of the Lorde or Lordes *of the Mannor whereof* any Waste or Common within their Parishe *ys or shall be parcell*, and upon Agreamente before with hym or them made in *Writinge under the Handes and Seales of the saide Lorde or Lordes*, or otherwise accordinge to any Order to be sett downe by the Justices of Peace of the sayde County at their generall Quarter Sessions or the greater parte of them, *by like Leave and Agreamente of the sayde Lorde or Lordes in Writinge under his or their Handes and Seales*, to erect buylde and sett upp in fitt and convenyent places of Habitacion in such Waste or Common, at the generall Chardges of the Parishe or otherwise of the Hundred or County as aforesayde, to be taxed rated and gathered in Manner before expressed, convenyent Howses of Dwellinge for the sayde ympotent Poore; And allso to place Inmates or more Famylies then one in one Cottage or Howse; One Acte made in the one and thirtyeth yeare of her Majesties Reigne, intituled An Acte againste the erectinge and mayntayninge of Cotages, or any Thinge therein conteyned to the contrary notwithstandinge.

VI. Provided allwayes, That if any person or persons shall fynde themselves greaved with any Sesse or Taxe or other Acte done by the saide Churchwardens and other persons or by the saide Justices of Peace, that then yt shall be lawfull for the Justices of Peace at their generall Quarter Sessions or the greater nomber of them to take suche Order therein as to them shall be thoughte convenyente, and the same to conclude and bynde all the sayde partyes.

VII. And be yt further enacted, That the Parents or Children

of every poore olde blynde lame and impotent person or other poore person not able to worke, beinge of sufficyent Ability, shall at their own Chardges releive and maintayne every such poore person, in that manner and acordinge to that Rate, as by the Justices of Peace of that County where such sufficyent persons dwell or the greater nomber of them at there general Quarter Sessions shall be assessed; upon payne that every one of them to forfeit xx *s.* for every monethe which they shall fayle therein.

VIII. And be yt further hereby enacted, That the Maiors Bayliffes or other Heade Officers of every Corporate Towne within this Realme beinge Justice or Justices of Peace shall have the same Aucthority by vertue of this Acte within the lymittes and precynctes of their Corporacions, aswell owte of Sessions as at there Sessions, as is herein limitted prescribed and appointed to any of the Justices of Peace in the County for all the uses and purposes in this Acte prescribed, and no other Justice of Peace to enter or meddle there.

IX. And be yt allso enacted, That if it shall happen anie Parishe to extende yt selfe into moe Counties then one, or parte to lye within the Liberties of any Citye or Towne Corporate and part withowt, Than then aswell the Justices of Peace of every County, as allso the Heade Officers of such Citye or Towne Corporate, shall deale and intermeddle only in so muche of the saide Parishe as lyeth within there Liberty and not any further.

X. And be yt further enacted by the Aucthority aforesaide, That from the firste day of November nexte ensewinge the ende of this Session of Parliamente no person or persons whatsoever shall goe wandringe abroade and begge in any place whatsoever, by Licence or withowte, upon payne to be esteamed taken and punyshed as a Rogue: Provided allwayes, That this present Acte shall not extende to any poore people which shall aske Releife of Victualles only in the same Parishe where such poore people do dwell, so the same be in such tyme only and accordinge to such Order and Direccion as shall be made and appoynted by the Churchwardens and Overseers of the Poore of the same Parishe accordinge to the true intente and meaning of this Acte.

XI. And Further be yt enacted by the Aucthority aforesaide,

That all Penaltyes and Forfeytures before mencioned in this Acte shall goe and be ymployed to the use of the Poore of the same Parishe, and towardes a Stocke and Habitacion for them and other necessary uses and releife, as before in this Acte are mencioned and expressed, and shall be levyed by the saide Churchwardens and Overseers or one of them, by Warrant from anie two such Justices of Peace, by Distresse and Sale as aforesaide; or in defecte thereof, it shall be lawfull for any two such Justices of Peace to commit the Offender to Prison, there to remaine withowte Baile or Maineprise till the saide Forfeitures shall be satisfied and paide.

XII. And Forasmuch as all begginge is forbidden by this present Acte; Be yt further enacted by the Aucthority aforesaide, That the Justices of Peace of every County or Place Corporate, or the more parte of them in ther generall Sessions to be holden nexte after the ende of this Session of Parliamente, or in defalte thereof at the Quarter Sessions to be holden abowte the Feaste of Easter nexte, shall rate everie Parishe to suche a weekely somme of Money as they shall thinke convenyente, so as no Parishe be rated above the sum of vj *d.* nor under the summe of an Halfe penny wekely to be paide, and so as the totall summe of such Taxacion of the Parishes in every County amounte not above the Rate of Two pence for every Parishe in the saide County; whiche sommes so taxed shall be yearely assessed by the Agreament of the Parishioners within themselves, or, in defalte thereof, by the Churchwardens and Constables of the same Parishe or the more parte of them, or in defalte of their Agreamente by the Order of such Justice or Justices of Peace as shall dwell in the same Parishe or (if none be there dwellinge) in the partes nexte adjoyninge: And if anie person shall refuse or neclecte to pay any such porcion of Money so taxed, it shall be lawfull for the saide Churchwardens and Constables, or in there defaltes for the Justices of the Peace, to levye the same by Distresse and Sale of the Goodes of the party so refusinge or neglectinge, rendringe to the party the Overplus, and in defalte of such Distresse it shall be lawfull to any Justice of that Lymitte to committ such persons to Prison, there to abide withowte Bayle or Mainprise till he have paide the same.

XIII. And be yt allso enacted, That the saide Justices of the Peace at there generall Quarter Sessions to be holden at the tyme of such Taxacion shall sett downe what competent summe of Money shall be sente quarterly owte of every Cownty or Place Corporate for the Releife of the poore Prisoners of the Kinges Benche and Marshalsey, and also of such Hospitalles and Almes Howses as shalbe in the saide County, and what sommes of Money shalbe sente to every one of the saide Hospitalles and Almes Howses, so as there be sente owte of every County yearely Twenty Shillinges at the leaste to the Prisoners of the Kinges Benche and Marshalsey; which summes ratably to be assessed upon every Parish, the Churchwardens of every Parishe shall truly collect and pay over to the Highe Constable in whose Division suche Parishe shall bee scituate, from time to time quarterly, tenn dayes before the ende of every Quarter; and every such Constable at every such Quarter Sessions in such Cownty shall pay over the same to two such Justices of the Peace, or to one of them, as shall be by the more parte of the Justices of Peace of the County elected to be Treasorers of the saide Colleccion; whiche Treasurers in every County so chosen shall contynue but for the Space of one whole yeare, and then give upp there Chardge with a due Accompte of their Recepts and Disbursements at there Meeting in the Quarter Sessions to be holden after the Feaste of Easter in every yeare, to such others as shall from yeare to yeare in forme aforesaide successively be elected; which saide Treasurers or one of them shall paye *over* the same to the Lorde Chiefe Justice of Englande and *Knighte Marshall* for the tyme beinge, *equally to be devided* to the use aforesaide, takinge *there* Acquittances for the same, or in defalte *of the saide Chief Justice* to the nexte auncyenteste Justice of the Kinges Benche as aforesaide: And if any Churchwarden or Highe Constable or his Executours or Administratours shall fayle to make payment in forme above specified, then every Churchwarden his Executors or Admynystrators so offendinge shall forfeite for every time the somme of Tenn Shillinges; and every Highe Constable his Executors or Admynistrators shall forfeyte for every tyme the summe of Twenty Shillinges; the same Forfeytures, togither with the sommes behynde, to be levyed

by the saide Treasurer and Treasurers by way of Distres and Sale of the Goodes as aforesaide in forme aforesaide, and by them to be ymployed towardes the charitable uses comprised in this Acte.

XIV. And be yt further enacted, That all the surplusage of Money which shall be remayninge in the saide Stocke of any County shall by discretion of the more parte of the Justices of Peace in there Quarter Sessions be ordered distributed and bestowed for the Releife of the poore Hospitalles of that County, and of those that shall sustayne Losses by Fire Water *the Sea* or other Casualtyes, and to such other Charitable purposes for the Releife of the Poore, as to the more parte of the saide Justices of Peace shall seme convenyente.

XV. And be yt further enacted, That if any Treasurer shall wilfully refuse to take upon him the saide Ofice of Treasurership or refuse to distribute and give Releife accordinge to *such* forme as shall be apoynted by the more parte of the saide Justices of Peace, That then it shall be lawfull for the Justices of Peace in there Quarter Sessions, or in there defalte for the Justices of Assize at the Assizes to be holden in the same County, to fyne the same Treasurer by there discrecion; the same Fine to be levyed by sale of his Goodes, and to be prosecuted by any two of the saide Justices of Peace whome they shall authorize.

XVI. Provided allwayes neverthelesse, That every Souldiour beinge discharged of his service, or otherwise lawfully lycensed to passe into his Country, and not having wherewith to releave himselfe in his Travell homewardes, and euery Seafarynge Man landinge from Sea, not havinge wherewith to releave himselfe in his Travell homewardes, havinge a Testymonyall under the hande of some one Justice of Peace of or neare the place where he was landed or was discharged, settinge downe therein the place and tyme where and when he landed or was discharged, and the place of the Parties dwellinge place or byrthe unto which he ys to passe and a convenyent tyme to be lymited therein for his passage, shall and may, withowte incurringe the danger or penalty of this Acte, in the usual wayes directly to the place unto whiche he ys directed to passe, and within the tyme in such his Testymonyall lymitted for his passage, aske and receive such Reliefe

as shall be necessary in and for his passage; This Acte or any Thinge therein conteyned to the contrary notwithstanding.[1]

XVII. Provided allwayes, That this Acte shall endure no longer then to the ende of the nexte Session of Parlyament.

19. "AN ACTE FOR PUNYSHMENT OF ROGUES, VAGABONDES AND STURDY BEGGARS" (39 ELIZABETH, C. 4), 1597.

[Stats. of the Realm, Vol. IV., Pt. II., pp. 899 *seq.* See note to No. 18 above.]

I. For the suppressing of Rogues Vagabondes and Sturdy Beggars, Be it enacted by the auctority of this present Parliament, That from and after the Feaste of Easter next comminge, all Statutes heretofore made for the punyshment of Rogues Vagabondes or Sturdy Beggers, or for the ereccion or maytenaunce of Howses of Correccion, or towching the same, shall for so much as concerneth the same be utterly repealed: And that from and after the said Feaste of Easter, from tyme to tyme it shall and may be lawfull to and for the Justices of Peace of any County or Citty in this Realme or the Domynyons of Wales, assembled at any Quarter Sessions of the Peace within the same County Citty Borough or Towne Corporate, or the more part of them, to set downe order, to erecte and to cause to be erected one or more Howses of Correccion within their severall countyes or Cittyes; for the doing and performing whereof, and for the provyding of Stockes of Money and all other Thinges necessary for the same, and for raysing and governing of the same, and for Correccion and Punyshment of Offendors thither to be committed, such orders as the same Justices or the more part of them shall from tyme to tyme take reforme or set downe in any their said Quarter Sessions in that behalfe shalbe of force and be duely performed and put in Execucion.

II. And be it also further enacted by the auctority aforesaid, That all persons calling themsleves Schollers going about begging,

[1] This Proviso is annexed to the Original Act in a separate Schedule, and evidently constitutes an amendment by the House of Lords. At the end is written, 'Soit baillee aux Commons. A ceste Provision lez Commons sont assentuz.'

all Seafaring-men pretending losses of their Shippes or Goodes on the Sea going about the Country begging, all idle persons going about in any Cuntry eyther begging or using any subtile Crafte or unlawfull Games and Playes, or fayning themselves to have knowledge in Phisiognomye Palmestry or other like crafty Scyence, or pretending that they can tell Destenyes, Fortunes or such other like fantasticall Ymagynacions; all persons that be or utter themselves to be Proctors, Procurors Patent Gatherers or Collectors for Gaoles Prisons or Hospitalles; All Fencers Bearewardes common Players of Enterludes and Minstrelles wandring abroade (other then Players of Enterlude belonging to any Baron of this Realme, or any other honorable personage of greater Degree, to be auctoryzed to play under the Hand and Seale of Armes of such Baron or Personage); all Juglers Tynkers Peddlers and Petty Chapmen wandring abroade; all wandering persons and common Labourers being persons able in bodye using loytering and refusing to worcke for such reasonable Wages as is taxed or commonly gyven in such Partes where such persons do or shall happen to dwell or abide, not having lyving otherwyse to maynteyne themselves; all persons delivered out of Gaoles that begg for their Fees, or otherwise do travayle begging; all such persons as shall wander abroade begging pretending losses by Fyre or otherwyse; and all such persons not being Fellons wandering and pretending themselves to be Egipcyans, or wandering in the Habbite Forme or Attyre of counterfayte Egipcians; shalbe taken adjudged and deemed Rogues Vagabondes and Sturdy Beggers, and shall susteyne such Payne and Punyshment as by this Acte is in that behalfe appointed.

III. And be it enacted by thauctority aforesaid, That every person which is by this presente Acte declared to be a Rogue Vagabonde or Sturdy Begger, which shalbe at any tyme after the said Feast of Easter next commynge taken begging vagrant wandering or mysordering themselves in any parte of this Realme or the Domynion of Wales, shall uppon their apprehension by thappoyntment of any Justice of the Peace Constable Hedborough or Tythingman of the same County Hundred Parish or Tything where such person shalbe taken, the Tythingman or Headborow being assisted therein with thadvise of the Minister and one

other of that Parrish, be stripped naked from the middle upwardes and shall be openly whipped untill his or her body be bloudye, and shalbe forthwith sent from Parish to Parish by the Officers of every the same the nexte streighte way to the Parish where he was borne, if the same may be knowen by the Partyes Confession or otherwyse; and yf the same be not knowen, then to the Parish where he or she last dwelte before the same Punyshment by the space of one whole yeare, there to put him or her selfe to labour as a true Subject ought to do; or not being knowen where he or she was borne or last dwelte, then to the Parish through which he or she last passed without Punyshment; After which whipping the same person shall have a Testymonyall subscribed with the Hande and sealed with the Seale of the same Justice of the Peace Constable Headborough or Tythingman and of the Minister of the same Parish, or any two of them, testyfyeng that the same person hath been punyshed according to this Acte, and mencioning the day and place of his or her Punyshment, and the place wherunto such person is lymitted to go, and by what tyme the said person is lymitted to passe thither at his perill. And if the said person *through* his or her defaulte do not accomplysh the order appointed by the said Testymonyall, then to be eftsoones taken and whipped, and so as often as any defaulte shalbe founde in him or her contrary to the forme of this Statute, *in every place to be whipped till such person be repaired to the place lymitted;* the Substance of which Testymonyall shalbe registered by the Minister of the Parish in a Booke to be provided for that purpose, uppon payne to forfeite Five shillinges for every defaulte thereof: and the party so whipped and not knowen where hee or she was borne or last dwelte by the space of a yeare, shall by the Officers of the said Village where he or she so last past through without Punyshment be conveyed to the Howse of Correccion of the Lymitt wherein the said Village standeth, or to the common Gaole of that County or Place, there to remayne and be ymployed in worcke untill he or she shalbe placed in some service, and so to continue by the space of one whole yeare, or not being able of body untill he or she shalbe placed, to remayne in some Almeshowse in the same county or Place.

IV. Provided alwayes and be it enacted, Yf any of the said

Rogues shall appeare to be dangerous to the inferior sorte of People where they shalbe taken, or otherwyse be such as will not be reformed of their rogish kinde of lyfe by the former Provisions of this Acte, That in every such case it shall and may be laufull to the said Justices of the Lymittes where any such Rogue shalbe taken, or any two of them, whereof one to be of the Quorum, tc commit that Rogue to the Howse of Correccion, or otherwyse to the Gaole of that County, there to remaine untill their next Quarter Sessions to be holden in that County, and then such of the same Rogues so committed as by the Justices of the Peace then and there presente or the most parte of them shalbe thought fitt not to be delivered shall and may lawfully by the same Justices or the most part of them be banyshed out of this Realme and all other the Domynions thereof, and at the Charges of that Country shall be conveied unto such partes beyond the Seas as shalbe at any tyme hereafter for that purpose assigned by the Privie Counsell unto her Majesty her Heires or Successors, or by any *Six or* more of them, whereof the Lord Chauncellor or Lord Keeper of the Greate Seale or the Lord Treasourer for the tyme being to be one, or otherwyse be judged *perpetually* to the Gallyes of this Realme, as by the same Justices or the most part of them it shalbe thought fitt and expedyent; And if any such Rogue so banyshed as aforesaid shall returne agayne into any part of this Realme or Domynion of Wales without lawfull Lycence or Warrant so to do, that in every such case such Offence shalbe Fellony, and the Party offending therein suffer Death as in case of Felony; The said Felony to be heard and determyned in that County of this Realme or Wales in which the Offendor shalbe apprehended.

V. And be it also enacted by the auctorytie aforesaide, That yf in any Towne, Parish or Village the Cunstable Headborough or Tythingman be negligente and do not his or their best Endevors for the Apprehension of such Vagabonde Rogue or Sturdy Begger which there shalbe founde contrary to the forme of this present Acte and to cause every of them to be punyshed and conveyed according to the true meanyng of this presente Acte, that then the said Cunstable Headboroughe or Tythingman in whome such defaulte shalbe, shall loose and forfayte for every such defalte

Tenne shillinges; And also yf any person or persons do in any wyse disturbe or let the execucion of this Lawe or any part thereof concerning the punishment or conveyeng of any Rogues Vagabondes Sturdy Beggers or the releife or setling of poore ympotente persons in any manner of wyse, or make Rescusse against any Officer or Person auctorized by this presente Acte for the due execucion of any of the premisses, the same person so offending shall forfeyte and loose for every such Offence the somme of Five poundes, and shalbe bounde to the good behaviour.

VI. And be it also further enacted by the auctority aforesaid, That no person or persons, having charge in any Viage in passing from the Realmes of Ireland or Scotlande or from the Isle of Man into this Realme of England, do wittingly or willingly bringe or conveye or suffer to be brought or conveyed in any Vessell or Boate from and out of the said Realme of Irelande, Scotlande or Isle of Mann into the Realme of Englande or Wales or any part thereof, any Vagabonde Rogue or Begger, or any such as shalbe forced or very like to lyve by begging within the Realme of Englande or Wales, being borne in the same Realmes or Island, on payne of every suche person or persons so offending to forfeyte and loose for every such Vagabonde Rogue Begger or other person like to lyve by begging, Twenty Shillinges, to the use of the Poore of the said Parish in which they were set on Lande; And if any such Mannyske Scottysh or Irish Rogue Vagabonde or Begger be already or shall at any tyme hereafter be set on Lande, or shall come into any part of Englande or Wales, the same, after he or she shalbe punished as aforesaid, shalbe conveyed to the next Port or Parish in or neare which they were landed or first came, in such Sorte as Rogues are appointed to be by this presente Acte, and from thence to be transported at the common Charge of the Cuntry where they were set on Land into those parte from *whence* they came or were brought; And that every Cunstable Headborough and Tythingman neglecting the due performance thereof shall forfayte for every such Offence, Ten Shillinges.

VII. Be it further enacted by the Auctority aforesaid; That no diseased or ympotente pore person shal at any tyme resorte or repayre from their dwellinge Places to the Citty of Bathe or *Towne*

of Buxton, or eyther of them, to the Bathes there for the ease of their Greifes, unles such person do forbeare to begg, and be lycensed to passe thither by two Justices of the Peace of the County where such person doth or shall then dwell or remayne, and provided for to travayle with such Reliefe for and towards his or her mayntenaunce as shalbe necessary for the same person for the tyme of such his or her Travayle and Aboade at the Citty of Bathe, and Towne of Buxton, or eyther of them, and returne thence, and shall returne Home agayne as shalbe lymitted by the said Lycence; uppon payne to be reputed, punyshed and used as Rogues, Vagabondes and Sturdy Beggers declared by the presente Acte; And that thinhabitantes of the same Citty of Bath and Towne of Buxton shall not in any wyse be charged by this Acte with the fynding or releiving of any such pore People.

VIII. Provided alwayes, That the Justices of Peace within any County of this Realme or Wales shall not intromit or enter into any Cittye Boroughe or Townes Corporate, where be any Justice or Justices of Peace for any such Citty Borough or Towne Corporate, for the Execucion of any Branch Article or Sentence of this Acte, for or concerning any Offence Matter or Cause growing or arising within the precynctes Liberties or Jurisdiccions of such City Borough or Townes Corporate; but that it may and shalbe lawfull to the Justice and Justices of the Peace Maiors Baylyffes and other Head Officers of those Cittyes Boroughes and Townes Corporate where there be such Justices of the Peace to proceede to the Execucion of this Acte within the precyncte and Compasse of their Liberties, in such manner and forme as the Justices of Peace in any County may or ought to do *within* the same County by vertue of this Acte; Any thing in this Act to the contrary thereof notwithstanding.

IX. Provided alwayes, That this Acte or any thing therein conteyned shall not extende to the pore People for the tyme being in the Hospitall called Saint Thomas Hospitall, otherwise called the Kinges Hospitall in the Borough of Southworcke, neare adjoyning to the Citty of London; but that the Maior Comynalty and Cittizens of the saide Cittye of London for the tyme being shall and may have the Rule Order and Governemente of the saide

Hospitall and of the pore People therin for the time being; Any thing in this Acte to the contrary notwithstanding.

X. Provided alwayes that this Acte or any thing herein conteyned, or any auctority thereby given, shall not in any wyse extende to disinherite prejudice or hinder John Dutton of Dutton in the County of Chester Esquire, his Heires or Assignes, for towching or concerning any Libertie premynence Auctority Jurisdiccion or Inheritance, which the said John Dutton now lawfully useth or hath or lawfully may or ought to use within the county Palantyne of Chester, and the County of the Citty of Chester or eyther of them, by reason of any auncyent Charters of any Kinges of this Land, or by reason of any prescripcion Usage or Title whatsoever.

XI. And be it further enacted by the Auctority aforesaid, That all Fynes and Forfeytures appointed or to growe by this presente Acte (Excepte such as are otherwyse lymitted and appointed by this present Act), shall wholy go and be ymployed to thuse of the Reparacions and Mayntenaunce of the said Howses of Correccion and Stocke and Store thereof, or Releife of the Pore where the offence shalbe committed, at the discresion of the Justices of the Peace of the same Lymit Citty Borough or Towne Corporate; And that all Fynes and Forfeitures appointed or to growe by Conviccion of any person according to this present Acte shall by Warrante under the Handes and Seales of any two or more of the Justices of the Peace of the same County Citty Borough or Towne Corporate, be levied by Distresse and Sale of the Goodes and Chattels of thoffendor; which sale shalbe good in the Lawe against such Offendor; And that yf any of the said Offences shalbe confessed by the Offendor, or that the same shalbe proved by two suffycyent and lawfull Witnesses before such two or more Justices of the Peace, That then every such person shall forthwith stande and be in the Lawe convicted thereof.

XII. And be it also further enacted by thauctority aforesaid, That any two or more Justices of the Peace within all the said severall Shires Cittyes Boroughes or Townes Corporate, whereof one to be of the Quorum, shall have full power by auctority of this present Acte to heare and determyne all Causes that shall growe or come in question by reason of this Act.

XIII. And be it also further enacted by the auctority aforesaid, That the Lord Chauncellor or Keeper of the Greate Seale of Englande for the tyme being shall and may at all tymes hereafter by vertue of this present Acte, without further Warrante, make and directe Commission or Commissions under the Greate Seale of England to any person or persons, giving them or some of them thereby auctority, aswell by the Oathes of good and laufull men as of Witnesses or Examynacion of Partyes, or by any other lawfull wayes or meanes whatsoever, to enquire what sommes of Money or other Thinges have bene or shalbe collected or gathered for and towardes the ereccion of any Howses of Correccion, or any Stockes or other Thinges to set Pore on worcke, or for the mayntenaunce thereof at any tyme after the seavententh day of November in the Eightenth yeare of the Raigne of the Queenes most excellent Majesty, and by whome the same were or shalbe collected or gathered, and to whose Handes commen and to what use and by whose Direccion the same was or shalbe ymployed; and to call all and every such person and persons and their suretyes, and every of their Executors or Admynistrators, to an accompte; and to compell them and every of them by Attachement of their Goodes or Bodyes to appeare before them for the same, and to heare and determyne the same, and to leavye such Money and Thinges as they shall finde not to have bene duely ymployed uppon the said Howses of Correccion or Stockes, or uppon other like uses, having in such other like uses respecte of Thinges past by the said Commissioners to be allowed of, eyther by Distres and Sale of the Goodes and Chattels of such persons as they shall thincke fitt to be chargeable or aunswereable for the same, or by ymprisonment of their Bodies at their discresion; and that the said Comyssioners shall have full power and auctority to execute the same Commyssion according to the teanor and purporte thereof; and that all their Proceedinges Doynges Judgementes and Execucions by force and auctority thereof shalbe and remayne good and avayleable in the Lawe; which said Money so levyed by the said Commyssioners shalbe delivered and ymployed for the erecting or mayntenaunce of the same.

XIV. Provided alwayes nevertheless, That every Seafaring man

suffering Shipwracke, not having wherewith to relieve himselfe in his Travels homewardes, but having a Testimoniall under the Hand of some one Justice of the Peace of or neare the place where he landed, setting downe therein the place and tyme where and when he landed, and the place of the partyes dwelling or birth unto which he is to passe, and a convenyent time therein to be lymitted for his Passage, shall and may without incurring the daunger and penalty of this Acte, in the usual wayes directly to the place unto which he is directed to passe, and within the tyme in such his Testymoniall lymitted for his Passage, aske and receive such Reliefe as shalbe necessary in and for his passage.

XV. Provided also, That this Statute nor any thinge therein conteyned shall extend to any Children under the age of seaven yeares; nor to any such Glassemen as shalbe of good Behaviour, and do travaile in or through any Cuntry without begging, having lycense for their travayling under the Handes and Seales of three Justices of the Peace of the same Conty where they travell, whereof one to be of the Quorum.

XVI. And be it also further enacted by the auctority aforesaid, That the presente Acte shallbe proclaymed in the next Quarter Session or Sessions in every Countye, and in such other Marcket Townes or Places as by the more part of the Justices of the Peace in the said Sessions shalbe agreed and appointed. This Acte to endure *to the ende of the* first Session of the next Parliament.

20. ORDERS BY THE JUSTICES OF THE PEACE FOR THE RELIEF OF THE POOR IN ESSEX, 3 APRIL, 1598.

[Harleian MSS., No. 7020, Art. 33, f. 267.]

iij Aprilis, 1598. { Orders upon bothe the lawes for the Releife of the poore and punishment of Roages and Vagabonds, agreed upon and sett downe at the Quarter Sessions at Chelmysford holden the same day and Yeare by the Justices of the Peace there assembled.

In suche places of the Shire where at this presente no overseers of the poore are named, hereafter they to be named by the Justices in those divisions (as done in Easter weeke,) And the Choice to be made of the moste discreet and principall persons.

No persons (other then Roages or Vagabondes) shalbe removed from their presente habitacions, either to their birthe places or last aboade by the greatest parte of iij yeares past; And to be resolved by the Justices of the Assizes, whether by the former lawes, or by this late lawe made, the said persons maye be removed. And if by the lawe the said persons may be removed, then to leave the same to the Justices in their severall divisions, as the occasions shall arise, and so likewise for younge Children under the age of vij yeares, and Women with Childe unlawfullie begotten.

The general howse of Correction for setting of Roages etcetera to be Coxall.

The particuler howses of Correction to be as followeth, viz., in Divermor division to be ij, th'one at Dunmowe, thother at Thacksted. In Chelmysford division to be fower, namely Chelmysford and Writtle for Chelmysford hundred, Sudmynster for Dengie hundreth and Prittlewell for Rocheford hundreth. In Barstable division to be v, viz. Billerica and Horndon for Bar stable hundreth, Brent Wood and Alvethley for Chafford hundreth, Barkynge for Beckentree hundreth. In Ongar division to be iij, Chipping Ongar for Ongar hundreth, Harlowe for Harlowe hundreth, and Epping for Waltham hundreth. In Hinckford division to be iij, Braintree, Halsted and Hednyngham Castle. In Tendering division v, Mannyngtree and Colchester for Tendering hundreth, Foordham foord for Lexden hundreth, Salcott for Winstrye and Thurstable hundreths, Witham for Witham hundreth.

Towching orders for the generall howse of Correction at Coxall, yt is required that Sir Thomas Lucas, Mr. Ayloffe, Mr. Chibborne and Mr. Harlakenden with Mr. Grymestone or the more parte of them shall take paynes to peruse the former Orders, and sett the same in so good Case as they maye for the presente, and to Certifye the state thereof at the next Quarter Sessions.

It is agreed for the ordering of the particuler howses of Correction that the Justices of the Peace of the division (or any ij of them) where the said howses shalbe, shall appointe severall overseers of the same howses, And give them allowance of suche wages or yearely fee for executing their Office, to be levyed within the same division, as shall seeme fitt to them in discretion.

The said Orders for all the howses of Correction to be put in execution withall convenyent expedicion.

It is expounded that the great grandfather, grandfather, Father and sonne upward and downeward in lyneall discent or degree shall releive one an other as occasion shall require.

There shalbe levyed of everye parish within the Countie the somme of three half pence by the weeke, to be Collected and delyvered over to the Threasorers to be employed to the uses expressed in the Statute.

The Threasorers named for the Yeare to come, are Thomas Bendish and Thomas Joslyn Esquires.

If the Constables or Headboroughes of any towne, that by this lawe ought to Convaye any Roage from one Towneship to an other, doe suffer the same Roage, etcetera, to escape, the Justices or one of them, of the division where suche escape shall happen, shall bynde the said Constables or Headboroughes to the next Quarter Sessions, there to be proceeded against according to the penaltie of the said lawe inflicted upon them in that behalfe.

It is expounded that suche as be Pedlars or Petichapmen and be Resident in any Towneship, and brought up in that trade, maye goe to their usuall Markettes or Fayers the direct waye, not opening or shewing their wares by the waye, And returnyng within the space of fower dayes next after their going forthe at their perilles, otherwise to be reputed as wandering persons within the Compasse of the lawe.

To move my Lorde keeper for a Commyssion to enquire towching the Stock heretofore levyed for the howse of Correction at Coxall.

21. ADMINISTRATION OF THE POOR LAW BY THE WEST RIDING JUSTICES, 1598.

[West Riding Sessions Rolls, 1597/8-1602, ed. J. Lister (Yorks. Arch. and Topog. Assoc., Record Series, Vol. III., 1888), pp. 26, 39-42, 72-76, 105, 130, *passim.*]

[10 January 1598. Sessions held at Doncaster.] *Staynecrosse and Barnesley.* Wheras ther is an Assessment made within the Wapentacke of Staynecrosse towardes the releif of the po[ore] of Barnesley, and for that some of the Inhabitantes of that Wapentake fynde themselves greeved therin: Yt [is] therfore ordered that the said Assessment shall stay vntill the next Sessions to be holden att Pontefracte and to be considered vpon by the whole benche and ordered as to their discrecions shall seme requisite.

Bentley and Arkesey. For that the Inhabitantes of Bentley and Arkesey did shewe their Assessment betweene them made, and requested the confirmacion therof by this Court, Yt is therfore ordered that the same Assessment shal be ratified and confirmed accordingly. . . .

[12 Jan. 1598. Sessions held at Leeds.] *Northowrom. Shelfe.* Wheras this Court is informed that a poore Woman and a Yonge Child came begging into the Towneshipp of Northowrom about a moneth since, and staied ther fower or five daies untill the said woman did fall extreamely sicke and then the Constable of the said Towne did carry the said woman, being at poynt of death, and her child vnto a poore mans house within the Towneshipp of Shelf, wher the said woman within three howers after died, by meanes wherof the said Child being not past a yeare old is still in the said towne of Shelf, which is far vnable to releive the same by reason they are alreadie overcharged with their owne poore: Yt is therfore ordered that the Inhabitantes within the Towneshipp of Northowrom shall pay xij$^{d.}$ and Shelfe iiij$^{d.}$ weekelie towardes the releif and educacion of the said Child and it to remayne within the Towne of Shelfe vntill further order be taken herein.

Bramhopp. Dyneley. Whereas this Court is informed that

John Dyneley of Bramhopp esquier, being the Lord of thone half of the said towne and dwelling within the same, hath now of late tyme refused and denyed to pay assessementes and layes vpon him assessed by thinhabitantes aswell to the Church as the Prince, as heretofore he hath vsually done, contrarie to the Custome ther vsed tyme out of memorie of man, wherof thinhabitantes ther require redresse of this Court, and for that ther is many troublesome Suytes betwixt the said John Dyneley and some of the said inhabitantes, and that this Court hath not now tyme to heare and determyne the same matters: Yt is therfore ordered by thassent of the said John Dyneley that all Suytes shall stay vntill the next Sessions, and then the said matters to be ther hard and ended.

Savile. Southowrom. Forsomuch as ther hath bene divers orders made in this Court for the educating of a base Child begotten by Mathew Hemyngwey on the body of Dionis Savile, all which orders are now determyned, and for that Henry Savile, father of the said Dionise, in respecte of his povertie craveth further allowance vntill the next Sessions for the releif therof: Yt is therfore ordered that the Towneshipp of Southowrom wher the said Child was borne shall pay iiij$^{d.}$ and Richard Hemyngwey Father of the said Mathew ij$^{d.}$ weekely vntill the next Sessions towardes theducating of the said Child, And that in the meane tyme the said Dionise shalbe soundly whipped for her offence.

Southowrom. Wheras ther is a poore infant Child left within the Towne of Southowrom, who are so sore chardgd with their owne poore that they are scarce able to releive them and therfore hath required aide of this Court. It is therfore ordered that the said Child shall not onely be releived within the same towne of Southowrom but also thorow the whole parishe of Hallifax vntill other order be therin taken. . . .

Ossett. Dewisburie. Suthill. Wheras this Court is crediblie informed that ther is a poore succourlesse Child lefte in Ossett within the parishe of Dewisburie, and for that the saide towne of Ossett is Chardged with more poore then it is well able to releive: Yt is therfore ordered by this Court that the Constable of the said townes of Ossett, Dewisburie and Suthill shall cause

assessmentes to be made within their seuerall Towneshippes accordinge [to] ancient Rates ther vsed viz : Dewisburie xvj$^{s.}$ viij$^{d.}$, Suthill xvj viij$^{d.}$ and Ossett xvj$^{s.}$ viij$^{d.}$ yearelie vntill further order be herin taken for the releif of the said Child.

Lange. Wheras Henry Lange, a poore Maymed Souldier, hath brought Certificate vnto this Court of his maymes and Service and requireth a pencion as the Lawes in that case doth provide, and for that ther are so many pencions graunted already that ther is not in the Threasorers handes to suffice for his maynteynance and for that he was borne within the towne of Leedes, Yt is therfore ordered that an Assessment of xvj$_{d.}$ weekely shalbe made within the parish of Leedes for his releife vntill the next Sessions and then a pencion to be graunted hym according to the Statute etc. . . .

[25 April 1598. Sessions held at Pontefract.] *Ritchmound and Gisbroughe.* For the relieffe of the poore distresed people of Richmound and Gisborough visited with the plague, Yt is ordered by this Court that the some of xxxiij^{li} vj^{s} viij^{d} shalbe allowed them out of the Westridinge, which is in open Court nowe rated and assessed vpon the seuerall Wapentackes and liberties of the said Westridinge equally and proportionably in maner and forme followinge viz. : Agbrigg and Morley vj^{li} Claro vj^{li} Yewcrosse and Staynecliffe vj^{li} Strafforth and Tickhill v^{li} Skiracke iij^{li} x^{s} Barkst[on] iij^{li} vj^{s} viij^{d} Osgodcrosse and Staynecrosse iij^{li} x^{s}, which said seuerall Somes the Justices of peace shall forthwith particularlyrate and chardge vpon the seuer all Inhabitantes of every Wapentacke or liberte wherin they dwell, and with all convenyent speed delyuer the same to the High-Constables of the same divisions in Writing, with Comaundement presently to levie, collecte and pay over the same to the handes of William Mawliverer and Talbott Bowes esquiers, who are appoynted to receive and dispose the same for the better aide and Maynteynance of the said poore infected people. . . .

Statute for Rooges. Ordered that the Statute against Rooges and Vagrant personnes shalbe proclaymed and publiquely read in the seuerall Merkettes townes within this Westridinge as followeth vizt. : on Friday next in Wakefeild, on Satterday next in Hallifax and Skipton, on Munday next in Leedes, Rotheram

and Selbie, on thursday next in Bradford and Wetherbie, on Weddensday in Barnesley and Knaresbroughe, on tuesday next in Sheffeild and Settle etc. . . .

Sharpe. Ordered that George Sharpe of Rothwell shall have a license to begge within that parish quatenus de Jure etc. . . .

Braiton. Corker. Ordered that the Churchwardeins and Surveiors of the poore within the parishe of Braiton shall see and take order that Elizabethe Corker and her iiij^{or} children shalbe releeved and provided for as the late Statute requireth etc. . . .

[13 July, 1598. Sessions held at Wakefield.] *Shawe.* Wheras one Gregorie Shawe late of Dancaster, hath dwelt and remayned in Dancaster for a longe space, and hath during that tyme bene twice married and afterwardes placed in an hospitall, notwithstanding all which the Maior of Dancaster hath by colour of the last Statute for the releefe of poore taken hym forth of the said Hospitall and sent hym to the place of his birth contrary to the meanyng of that Statute: Yt is therfore ordered that a Warrantum per Curiam shalbe made to the said Maior to receive hym agayne and provide for his releif according to the said Statute, etc. . . .

[8 Jan., 1599. Sessions held at Doncaster.] *Musgrave.* Forsomuch as Francis Musgrave is a wandringe begger and hath bene harbored by one Thomas Brooke contrary to the Statute: Yt is therfore ordered that the said Brooke shall convey her of his owne chardge into her owne countrie wher she was borne etc.

22. A PLAYHOUSE AND THE RELIEF OF THE FINSBURY POOR, *c.* 1600.

[Henslowe Papers, ed. W. W. Greg (1907), p. 50; also in E. K. Chambers, The Elizabethan Stage (1923), Vol. IV., pp. 327-28.]

To the righte honorable the Lordes and others of her maiesties most honorable privie Councell:

In all humblenes, wee the Inhabitantes of the Lordshipp of Fynisburye, within the parrishe of St. Gyles without Creplegate, London, doe certifie vnto your honnours, That wheare the

Servantes of the right honorable Earle of Nottingham haue latelie gone aboute to erect and sett vpp a newe Playehowse within the said Lordshipp, Wee could be contented that the same might proceede and be Tollerated (Soe it stande with your honnours pleasuers) For the reasons and Causes followeinge.

First, because the Place appoynted oute for that purpose Standeth very tollerable, neere vnto the Feildes, and soe farr distant and remote frome any person or Place of accompt, as that none cann be Annoyed thearbie:

Secondlie, because the Erectours of the saied howse are contented to give a very liberall porcion of money weekelie, towardes the releef of our Poore, The nomber and necessity whereof is soe greate that the same will redounde to the contynuall comfort of the saied Poore:

Thirdlie and lastlie, wee are the rather Contented to accept this meanes of releif of our Poore, because our Parrishe is not able to releeue them, neither hath the Justices of the Sheire taken any order for any Supplie oute of the Countrye, as is enioyned by the late Acte of Parliamente:

[Twenty-seven signatures follow.]

[*Endorsed.*] The Certificate of the Inhabitantes of the Lordship of Fynisburye of theire Consent to the Tolleracion of the Erection of a newe Plaiehowse theare.

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